



News from behind the **IRON CURTAIN**

June 1953

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About this Publication . . .

NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, published monthly by the Research and Publications Service of the National Committee for a Free Europe, is distributed to a limited mailing list of those who have expressed specific interest in events and developments in Communist-dominated Europe. This bulletin is a compilation of material collected by the Committee for the use of Radio Free Europe and its other divisions and is being made available to representatives of the press and other media, to universities, churches, libraries, and research centers, and to other groups of citizens who want to know more about "Communism in practice." The publication is not an organ of editorial policy; wherever possible direct quotations have been used with a minimum of connective commentary. However, the Committee believes that accurate information contributes to an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the Communist system, and hence to the ability of the free nations to combat this system.

About the National Committee for a Free Europe . . .

The National Committee for a Free Europe was founded in 1949 by a group of private American citizens who joined together for direct action aimed at the eventual liberation of the peoples of the Iron Curtain countries. With the help of endowments and public contributions to the Crusade for Freedom, the Committee has set up, among other activities, Radio Free Europe. The Committee's efforts are focused on the captive countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In these efforts the Committee counts among its active allies the democratic leaders—scholars, journalists, political and economic experts, and men of letters—who have escaped from the Communist enslavement of their native lands.

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Area Trends

THE Bear that walks like a man danced to his own May Day music in Iron Curtain Europe last month. The tunes were essentially familiar "peace ditties" although the anti-West songs were less intensely violent than were last year's. Nevertheless they still sang about how citizens of the capitalist countries, opposed to US rearmament, were joining the Soviet camp in increasing numbers. Throughout the area, Stalinist voices chorused for strengthening the Armed Forces and Security Police as prerequisites to peace. The tempo was stepped up for the workers who, of course, were urged to increase production. Following the theme played by *Pravda*, the Satellite leaders made harsh orchestrations on Eisenhower's statement about the liberation of Eastern Europe as an attempt to restore reactionary regimes. The voice of the people, they reiterated, is the voice of Communism, and the voice of Communism is the voice of "God."

Although the springtime carolling of peace filled the Iron Curtain lands, the ice of the cold war rivers had not yet broken, nor were negotiations flowing freely. The promise of a peacetime spring may have pulsed beneath the ice, but no flowers bloomed: words, somewhat prettier than last spring's, ruled the political arena, but deeds were far behind.

The elections to Hungary's Parliament revealed the crafty use of force to maintain power, and the usual Communist single slate electoral duplicity. The Czechoslovak amnesty and the re-establishment of the Bulgarian Orthodox Patriarchate were carefully worked out devices for closer control of the Church and more relentless persecution of internal enemies. Hidden inflation in Poland, labor resistance in Czechoslovakia, and the intensification of "Socialist" competitions in Romania were evidence of new pressures on the workers and promised further cuts in consumer consumption.



BULGARIA

A New Patriarchate: Election of a Communist-controlled Patriarch of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the latest and most daring incident in the regime's antireligious campaign. Since the new Patriarch is a devoted Party servant who presumably will guarantee the loyalty of the clergy under him, his election may presage a new purge of anti-Communist priests. In re-establishing the Patriarchate for the first time in six centuries, the government may have another purpose: to play on Bulgarian nationalism and the fact that territories once under the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Church are now part of Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia. Seen in this light, the election is one answer to the recently ratified Balkan Pact. Under the pretext of granting the Church new power, the Communists aim, in both these ways, to bring it under tighter control.

Administrative Shortcomings: State-wide sessions of the recently-elected People's Councils were held to discuss implementation of government policy. It was reported that many

deputies failed to attend these meetings and that numerous shortcomings hampered the Councils' efficiency. Most significant of all was the criticism that the permanent commissions on the Councils had failed to mobilize workers for the construction of Government projects, and that 20,000 more workers were still needed.

POLAND

Housecleaning: A streamlining of the Party was indicated in speeches made at the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee, where it was announced that about 7,000 Party members had been expelled in 1952. The majority of dismissals were made on the basis of "moral disintegration," although a large number of Communists were purged as political enemies. The Plenum also announced that subversion in Poland was on the increase, and the support given the Western Radio was severely criticized. All Party leaders stressed the importance of vigilance and a continuous campaign against saboteurs.

The Church: Although no new clerical arrests have been made, denunciations of the Pope, the Vatican and Polish Bishops have not abated. According to a recent decree, the entire Church hierarchy will be forced to take loyalty oaths to the State. The clergy has already been summoned to regional gatherings for this purpose, and the Bishops and Cardinal Wyszynski will probably be called upon in the near future. Another incident in the campaign against the Church is the delay since March 8 in the publication of *Tygodnik Powszechny*, only remaining independent Catholic weekly. Its editors are undoubtedly being pressured to open their columns to pro-regime priests.

Hidden Inflation: The new 1953 Budget indicated a hidden inflation. Both revenues and expenditures were increased out of proportion to the rise in national income. It is interesting to note that workers suffer far more from the decreased purchasing power of the *zloty* than Government leaders, who have recently been granted substantial pay raises. The raises granted workers are far less significant, despite the fact that the Government pretends to represent their interests. Furthermore, in order to force labor to greater productivity, a State-wide revision of work norms is being considered.

HUNGARY

Elections: In the Communist-run elections to Parliament on May 17, 98.2 percent of the votes reportedly went to People's Front candidates. In the 1949 elections, five Communist-dominated parties were represented in the People's Front; this year even that minor concession was abandoned and the only party recognized was the Communist Party. The principal theme of the electoral campaign was stepped-up production. Other propaganda extolled the Soviet Union, Kremlin "peace efforts," the Hungarian Communist Party and Prime Minister Matyas Rakosi.

Eisenhower: After some delay, Hungarian Communists replied to Eisenhower's April 16 comment about the liberation of Eastern Europe. As in other Satellite regimes, the response was calculated to prove that it is the US Government, and not the Soviet Union, which interferes in Hungarian internal affairs, with the aim of restoring a reactionary government. The Communists declared that Hungary would fight to maintain her "political and economic independence," and that the Government had the "full support" of the people.

Planning: Although the Communists denounced production lags throughout January and February, the report on the first quarter of 1953 stated that only three industrial ministries had failed to fulfill the plan. However, it was also announced that the planned reduction of manufacturing costs had not been carried out, and that manufacturing output exceeded that of the same period in 1952 by only 8.2 percent. The plan called for a 16 percent increase. Nevertheless, the increase in heavy industrial output was 21.6 percent higher than that in the same period last year.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Labor Crisis: Following an April announcement that the 1953 State Economic Plan was not fulfilled in the first quarter, the Government criticized labor's poor work discipline. President Antonin Zapotocky considered the general production and supply crisis severe enough to warrant his unexpected appearance at a Plenary meeting of the Central Trade Union Council, where he pointed out that "speech-making was not enough in building Socialism." Zapotocky listed absenteeism, labor turnover, faulty production, poor use of working time, inefficiency, abuse of soft norms, and lack of respect for "Socialist" property as evidence of labor's irresponsibility. As a continuation of the drive begun last February by the reduction of food rations, the Government has now sliced pensions of those considered inimical to the regime.

Celebrations: May Day and the eighth anniversary of Czechoslovakia's "liberation by the Soviet Army" were occasions for disseminating so-called peace propaganda. The role of the military was prominently featured in both celebrations. Zapotocky declared that the Army must be a threat to potential invaders. He also praised the National Security Corps for "guarding the peace and happiness of the people," and said that the "People's Militia guaranteed workers and technicians the ability to work undisturbed."

ROMANIA

Agriculture: Since the middle of April, the Government has compelled individual peasants to increase their compulsory deliveries to the State. This measure was justified on the pretext that mechanization had raised farm produce. However, unfavorable weather has damaged many crops, making extraction of greater sacrifices from independent farmers a Communist necessity.

The Government also passed a new law, patterned on the Soviet Artel Law, to speed up collectivization. According to its provisions, farmers will be forced to observe stricter discipline in the matter of wages and consumption.

Industry: With a view to fulfilling the Five Year Plan in four years, the Government has intensified "Socialist" competitions, and all economic enterprises have been obliged to make new pledges for higher productivity. The supply of iron ore, coke, non-ferrous metals and electric power is so scarce that only a fraction of the amount required to meet production needs is available, and the campaign's success is unlikely.

Further industrialization, as well as increased trade with the USSR, have severely drained the investment funds created by the 1953 Budget. In order to replenish them, new cuts in civilian consumption and demands for higher productivity may be expected.

Critiques and Celebrations

I. MAY DAY

May Day demonstrations in the captive countries were designed to prove Soviet "peace intentions." As in previous years, mass participation was required, and for weeks in advance Party propagandists rehearsed citizens for the festivities. In the 1952 celebrations, proclamations of peace were accompanied by military displays, and Stalin, backed by the Soviet Army, was portrayed as the beneficent hero of the nations building "peace, democracy and Socialism." Mobilization in all sectors of the national front was urged by the various leaders as defense measures against Western aggression. This year the theme was the same, although anti-West attacks were less vehement and greater emphasis was placed on peace propaganda.

"Soviet Armies of Peace"

In Bulgaria, Minister of National Defense Peter Panchovski delivered the opening address at the ceremonies in September Ninth Square. Last year Panchovski stressed the "disunity in the imperialist camp" and denounced "capitalist war preparations." (See June 1952, p. 3.) This year, the Minister placed greatest emphasis on the alleged growth of the peace movement in all parts of the world. As quoted by Radio Sofia, May 1, Panchovski declared:

"Korea is fighting imperialist invasion. Many nations and capitalist countries are fighting exploitation, unemployment and misery. They are struggling for Socialism. The army of peace partisans is growing. The Great Soviet Union is a mighty support in the peace struggle. We are proud that Bulgaria is fighting in the first ranks of the army for peace. Long live the Soviet people, Government and Communist Party. Long live the Bulgarian People's Army, the true guardian of peace."

In a similar speech, President of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, Todor Prahov, claimed that May

Day was a manifestation of the struggle against war-mongers, and that workers in capitalist countries were participating in this fight. "Workers in our country will demonstrate their love . . . for the Communist Party of the USSR. . . . These demonstrations will be a serious warning to all those who aim to disrupt the peaceful work of millions."

Eisenhower Rebuked

About 6,000 people attended the ceremonies in the Warsaw Academy. As the main speaker of the occasion, Polish Vice-Premier Cyrankiewicz paid tribute to Soviet leadership and asserted that the Communists have no fear of peace because their policy is based on a knowledge of their own power and a certainty of final victory. Cyrankiewicz then referred to a *Pravda* commentary on Eisenhower's April 16 speech, and declared that it is false to assume that the Polish people want or need to be liberated:

"President Eisenhower's allusions to the countries of the People's Democracy . . . cannot be ignored. From these allusions, it [appears] that President Eisenhower is especially concerned with this part of Europe. However, his is a peculiar solicitude, [since his statement would imply] that the Polish nation dreams of nothing else but the return of the treacherous, bankrupt reactionary clique, whose power crumbled like a stack of cards in September 1939. This clique found shelter in Western countries where, in exchange for money, it conspires against Poland. [Today, these emigres have] joined with Hitler's successor, Adenauer, because they see in the growing front of peace forces a mortal threat to their vile hopes for a new war."

Czechoslovak President Antonin Zapotocky made a speech along similar lines in Prague's Wenceslas Square. As quoted by *Rude Pravo* (Prague), May 2, Zapotocky insisted that the Communist Government represented the Czechoslovak people: "We take into serious consideration . . . the recent statement made by the President of the United States, who claimed that it was the indisputable

right of every country to form its own government according to its own wishes. Our country, . . . just because she has made use of this indisputable right, . . . has been the target of enemy attacks for many years."

Zapotocky then voiced his support of Soviet policy on Austria and Germany, and affirmed Czechoslovak friendship with the USSR:

"We have always trusted that there is a solution to all problems when there is the will to respect the rights of other countries. . . . Therefore we are in favor of the democratic solution to the German question and the Austrian peace treaty [recommended by] *Pravda* (Moscow), April 25. Therefore we support, and always will support, the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union."

In describing Romanian celebrations, *Scanteia* (Bucharest), May 3, said that May Day was "a grand and powerful manifestation . . . of the people's will to always cherish friendship with the Soviet Union . . . as the only guarantee of sovereignty and independence. . . ." *Scanteia* also declared that the Romanian people firmly believe in the huge forces of peace, and desire genuine international cooperation and the peaceful settlement of all disagreements.

Men with Arms

Despite the emphasis on peace, the role of the Armed Forces and the police was prominently featured in the celebrations, and throughout the Iron Curtain area the need to increase internal vigilance and national defense power were principal themes of the day. In describing the May Day parade, Radio Sofia called the artillery and *Katyushas* "mighty weapons built against those who threaten peace and hate our country." Other comments were equally belligerent: "The Navy guards our shores and is ready to defend them; border guards have prevented diversionists from crossing our frontiers; the police protect the Socialist liberty of the people from hidden enemies."

According to the Czechoslovak newspaper *Rude Pravo* (Prague), May 2, the unity between the military and civilians was symbolized by the fact that soldiers, border guards, Security Corps officers and militiamen mingled with the masses in the parade. The military emphasis was also highlighted in a meeting at Strahov Stadium presided over by Minister of Security Karol Bacilek. As quoted by *Rude Pravo*, May 3, Bacilek made the following appeals:

"Comrades of the Border Police . . . never permit disguised, treacherous imperialist agents to cross our borders. . . . Members of the Internal Police, protect our enterprises from attacks by thieves and diversionists. . . . Members of the Security Corps . . . safeguard our State secrets . . . prevent spies and traitors from infiltrating our enterprises and offices. You must be on the alert and nip in the bud any attempts to organize sabotage and terrorist gangs. . . . Members of Public Security, protect our uniform agricultural cooperatives from attacks by remnants of capitalist ele-

ments in villages. . . . Members of the Police, increase your vigilance . . . and cooperation with our Czechoslovak Army. . . . Learn from the example of Soviet security organs, assist in our building efforts and in our struggle. . . ."

Increased Production

As usual, increased production was the slogan of the day. The Romanian Communist newspaper *Scanteia* (Bucharest), April 8, wrote: "May 1, the international day of working people, is the best occasion for intensifying Socialist competitions in order to fulfill the 1953 plan ahead of schedule; 1953 is the decisive year for completing the Five Year Plan in four years." Similarly, on April 25, *Scanteia* appealed to workers to fight for higher standards of production and to lower production costs. "This will decrease consumer prices and raise the purchasing power of the *leu*."

Pledges were extracted from workers all over the country. These commitments were described in typical Communist fashion as spontaneous expressions of the people's enthusiasm. *Scanteia*, April 8, reported that in honor of May Day, workers in the Stalin Plant had promised to deliver by April 30 the quantity of tractors due on May 12, and that, in addition, they had pledged to increase output *per capita* by 7 percent and to lower production costs by 2 percent.

Radio Tallinn, May 1, reported:

"According to tradition, . . . the Soviet people report their work victories to their Communist Party and the Soviet Government on May Day. Here is locksmith Jakovlev. Before May Day, he started work for 1959. Locksmith Paul Pajula is working for 1957, and locksmith Jaan Toater fulfilled his personal Five Year Plan before May Day."

Slogans

May Day slogans were patterned on those published in the Soviet Union. The Polish Communist Party issued 59. The first nine were dedicated to the Soviet Union, its Party and its Army. The following eight were greetings to China, Korea, Germany and the "People's Democracies." The remaining 35 were appeals to various professional groups to increase work efforts. Although Stalin was mentioned in several slogans, Malenkov was not, and among Polish Communists, only Bierut received special mention. In this connection, it is significant to note that Radio Tallinn never mentioned Malenkov, Beria or Molotov in its May Day reports. Only the collective noun, "members of the Party and Government" was used to describe USSR leadership.

The Czechoslovak newspaper *Rude Pravo* (Prague), April 19, printed 78 slogans. These included: "Greetings to the working people of France, Italy, Great Britain, the USA, and of all capitalist countries in their struggle against the imperialist war instigators . . . to the democratic powers in West Germany . . . to the Korean people . . . [and] to the Japanese fighting under the guidance of the Japanese

Communist Party. . . "As in the other captive countries, the majority of slogans were appeals for higher work output.

Coached by Party activists, the captive peoples paraded before the reviewing stands, chanting Communist slogans and displaying the posters and floats prepared for the occasion. Several of the Hungarian posters read: "Long live May Day, the military review of peoples fighting for peace, the militant holiday of proletarian internationalism. . . Long live the Hungarian People's Army, the protector of our independence, liberty and peace. . . Hungarian Workers! Unite even more closely behind the Hungarian Workers Party and the beloved leader of our people, Comrade Matyas Rakosi! Ruthlessly crush the enemies of our people, spies, evildoers, and all the imperialist agents."

One of the floats in the Czechoslovak parade depicted "ailing world capitalism." *Rude Pravo*, May 2, described it as follows: "Everybody attempts to treat it [world capitalism] . . . Radio Free Europe, Tito with a hypodermic needle, a released SS man, a pre-Munich policeman. But the diagnostic chart shows that there is no remedy. World capitalism is suffering from economic convulsions." In Ostrava, many floats attacked those responsible for lags in plan fulfillment. "Miners from Zarubek showed their method of eliminating shift skippers: An iron broom to sweep them away."

This year, as last, Stalin was the hero of the day. Descriptions of the parade broadcast over Radio Warsaw, May 1, revealed that the late Soviet leader was the most praised individual of the festivities:

"At the intersection between Jerozolimska Avenue and Nowy Swiat Street, the Party building . . . [is] decked with banners and portraits of those who lead the struggle to make the present a day of joy and liberty. Across the whole building, the following inscription is visible for miles: STALIN DIED—HIS TEACHINGS ARE ALIVE AND VICTORIOUS."

II. CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

"Without self-criticism, it is impossible to correctly educate the Party, the class and the masses. Without the correct education of the Party, the class and the masses, there is no Bolshevism."

Stalin—*Problems of Leninism*

In any society, liberty is a prerequisite for free discussion and objective criticism. When liberty is denied, an impartial, individual and constructive analysis of any phase of existence is impossible. In Communist Europe, such analyses are considered criminal. When the Bolsheviks exalt the principles of criticism and self-criticism as the most important methods for creating the new society, they have in mind a criticism based solely on Communist theories and designed to promote Communist ends. Such criticism is perforce limited, biased, arbitrary and schematized. Its purpose, according to the *Dictionary of Foreign*



Criticism

Self-criticism

From *Svet Prace* (Prague), April 30, 1953

Words (Szirka, Budapest, 1951), is "to reveal mistakes in work made by individuals, organizations and institutions, and to help organize the decisive struggle for the elimination of these mistakes."

Criticism in a Communist regime is not an expression of democratic opposition but a means of controlling the masses. It is a method of instituting checks and counter-checks on the captive peoples, a system intended to expose deviations from Party line and to implement Party policy. In this light, the importance attached to criticism and self-criticism by Party leaders is understandable. This emphasis is clearly demonstrated in two recent pronouncements by Satellite leaders. In an article in the December 12, 1952 issue of *Literarni Noviny* (Prague), Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister Zdenek Fierlinger wrote about the forthcoming Party Conference as follows:

"Our Conference must deal in principle with the problems of Party organization, the rights and duties of Party members and the importance of inner Party democracy and Party discipline. . . Criticism and self-criticism are not rights. They are duties . . . and neglect of these duties can amount to lack of Bolshevik vigilance."

At the Eighth Plenum of the Polish Workers Party on March 28, Communist leaders denounced shortcomings in criticism and self-criticism, and Prime Minister Bierut, quoting Stalin, declared:

"Socialist competition means real, revolutionary self-criticism of the masses, based on the creative initiative of millions of working men. Anyone, who consciously or unconsciously hinders self-criticism and the creative initiative of the masses shall be removed from our path as an obstacle to our great cause."

The numerous references made to the neglect of criticism and self-criticism indicate that Iron Curtain citizens grow indifferent when deprived of liberty. The following pages illustrate the Communist concept of criticism and the generally negative attitude of the masses towards it.

Saved by Enlightenment

Ideally "criticism and self-criticism" should work as follows: an enthusiastic worker, imbued with "Socialism," discovers that his superior is making a mistake. He criticizes the official, who gratefully accepts the advice, glimpses the proper path, and publicly confesses to the error of his ways. By mutual cooperation between worker and manager, the right road—that is, the one established by the Party—is taken.

A good illustration of this method and what the Communists hope to achieve by it was given by Radio Budapest, November 20, 1952. The purpose of the broadcast was to discourage peasants from expecting the State to supply seeds for sowing. The commentator began his narrative with the statement that many "kulaks" had tried to sabotage the harvest by refusing to sow early, claiming that they did not have enough seeds. Some council chairmen, convinced by the "kulaks'" arguments, "unwittingly helped the enemy." One of these chairmen was Istvan Bajdi from Bak, "who failed to see that the seeds could be procured if everyone cooperated." Luckily, Bajdi was enlightened by a cooperative worker, who said: "We must not expect the State to provide for everything. If we try very hard, we can get almost all the seeds by ourselves, and we can borrow the remainder from working peasants." Bajdi then saw the light and publicly admitted that, "deceived by kulaks, he had almost contributed to shortages in next year's crop and aided the enemy. Cooperation with the working peasants was successful. The seeds were procured. Socialist self-criticism saved the Bak cooperative farm."

It should be pointed out that the seed shortage was not alleviated by "criticism and self-criticism." In a recent address, Deputy Prime Minister Nagy revealed that seeds were borrowed from the Soviet Union, and that to repay the loan peasants had been deprived of their oil and fiber plant reserves.

The Silent Ones

Furthermore, it is improbable that all executives are as amenable to criticism as was Istvan Bajdi. In Communist Europe, a high price is paid for error, and fear-ridden bureaucrats use every possible means to evade the system of checks and counterchecks imposed on them. They know that "criticism and self-criticism" is not only a method for improving work: it is a weapon to eliminate incompetents, anti-Communists, "deviationists," and personal enemies. Under a totalitarian regime, a critic is not simply a critic but, inevitably, an informer, and reluctance to own up to mistakes or to point them out is a byproduct of tyranny. Intimidated citizens have everything to fear—dismissal, deportation, and the capricious claws of the State police.

Widespread unwillingness to expose mistakes was recently admitted and condemned by Bulgarian Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov, who complained that many people fear criticism and that some "reactionary circles" had adopted the attitude of "Don't harm me, and I won't harm you." In an attempt to dissipate these fears, Cher-

FORESIGHT



— По-бързо закривай събранието, докато тоя не е започнал да критикува...

"You better close the meeting before the criticism starts."

From Sturshel (Sofia), January 30, 1953

venkov, as quoted by *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), February 1, insisted that criticism was aimed at eliminating shortcomings—not the people responsible for them: "On the contrary, those responsible for shortcomings . . . can rid themselves of their errors and become better workers, worthy of public respect, only as a result of proper criticism."

Chervenkov stated that proper criticism must be created with the cooperation of Communists who, "having tried their hand at it but having made some errors, are now silent, as if silence were the best remedy for mistakes." Chervenkov added, however:

"We will also create such criticism without their cooperation, if they are unable to understand the simple truth that the best method of forging ahead after admitting your own mistakes is to participate still more actively in the common work, so that all may see that the error, however grave, was only accidental . . . and could be corrected."

Tamed Lions

Such assurances cannot allay the deep-rooted fears of the captive peoples. Concerned with their own individual fates, Party officials are rarely interested in "forging ahead" to the "true Socialism" or in trying to prove that their errors were merely accidental. The negative attitude of both workers and managers is the target of numerous denunciations in the Communist press. *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), April 3, declared angrily that "criticism and self-criticism," the tested Bolshevik method against "rotting and lethargy," was introduced in a certain hospital only this year, when the Party organization finally mustered courage enough to criticize the director, Dr. Saltamakov, who was known for beating pregnant women.

Satire, also, is employed in the campaign to eliminate popular indifference. This is sometimes done by ridiculing

those who pretend to be passionate reformers but who are tongue-tied when asked to express an opinion. Adopting this line, the Sofia comic weekly *Sturshel*, February 20, censured writers who fail in their "Socialist mission." In a description of an alleged meeting of the Writers Union, *Sturshel* exposed a "budding Gogol" and self-styled literary genius as a timorous non-entity:

"At our annual meeting . . . a writer named X sat next to me. He was in a fighting mood. His wild hair stood on end. His eyes sparkled. . . . He looked like a Nubian lion that has scented a herd of antelopes on the oasis and is ready for the kill. His trembling right hand clutched a shorthand notebook.

"Are you going to give your opinion?" he asked with a smirk.

"Well, I may say something," I replied.

"Something! . . . The Union won't improve with just *something*. There must be stormy . . . discussions. The crack of Juvenal's whip must be heard. We need . . ."

"Are you going to give your opinion?" I asked him.

"Hmm . . ." X smiled and shrugged his shoulders as if he wanted to say: "Is it necessary for you to ask?"

During the annual report, X fidgets in his chair, furiously takes notes, and from time to time exclaims: "No dissimulations!" When the President asks for comments, X volunteers, and is listed as the 19th speaker. As the first writers present their opinions, X turns to his neighbor and says:

"The criticism is too timid. Why don't these people criticize? . . . To improve our Union affairs, we need a Gogol, who with flaming passion . . ."

"Perhaps you can be this Gogol," I answered.

"Hmm . . . Well, yes," X murmured thoughtfully.

"He still looked like a lion with a flowing mane, but somehow, he appeared tamer, more gentle."

When X's turn comes, he gets up, smooths his hair, puts his notebook in his pocket, and says quietly: "Since most of the things have already been said, and since it is getting late, I'd rather not say anything." Then he sits down, calmly listens to the other reports, and states innocently at the end of the meeting: "Generally speaking, the conference was fine. Many things were said." To this, *Sturshel* comments: "Perhaps he slept well that night."

Conscientious Objectors

Those who are brave enough to reprove their superiors frequently find that their criticism is not taken in the proper "Bolshevik spirit." More often than not, frightened officials attempt to suppress employee complaints, knowing that these rebukes threaten their security and jeopardize their careers. A satirical article in the January 16 issue of *Sturshel* (Sofia), revealed that bribery and threats are two common reactions of officials accused of poor management. In the first case described by *Sturshel* an official summons an employee who registered a complaint against him, offers the man a cigar, and tells him how unfortunate it is that the two of them are not acquainted because

ЗА ВСЯКА БОЛКА ИМА И БИЛКА

Б. ДИМОВСКИ



Caption: For every sickness, there is a medicine.

"If you are afraid of criticism, work less and you'll make fewer mistakes."

From *Sturshel* (Sofia), February 13, 1953

people who don't know each other cannot get along well. For this reason, the official says, he wants to explain himself. He then delivers the following speech:

" . . . I wasn't appointed to this job by accident. People don't have confidence in me just because my eyes are black. [I] am well-known among the big shots. You can't imagine the connections I have with important people. . . . My word is law. I only have to say, 'So and So, who works for me, is no good,' and there is no place for him under the sun. . . . Especially if this person has registered a complaint against me. . . . That is why my advice to such a person would be: 'Don't poke your nose where it doesn't belong. Retract your complaint before it is too late.' Yes, that is what I would tell such an employee and give him three days in which to do it. . . . Well, take care of yourself. I'll call you in three days."

The second method described by *Sturshel* is more gentle. The official invites the complainant to his home, puts his arm on his shoulder and tells him that he was shattered by his criticism at yesterday's meeting. The official then grows effusive. He tells his subordinate that he is invaluable. Without his help, he would never improve:

"Without [people like you] I am a tree without roots. . . . Since yesterday, you have become a priceless pearl. . . . I have been thinking. . . . Why do I keep this eagle in such an unsuitable job? As a file clerk, he cannot stretch his wings. . . . Why don't I promote him to department head, so that he will have an opportunity to soar? What do you say, do you accept?"

To complete the bargain, the official naturally suggests: "What would you lose, if at the next meeting . . . you tell people that you made a mistake, said things which were untrue? . . . Oh, you are indispensable to me. Now, let's

drink a toast to your health. Next month, you can ask for a raise."

Who Need Not Fear?

A more common and less ingenious way of suppressing criticism is simply to demote or dismiss the complainant. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), December 2, 1952, sharply condemned this practice in an editorial revealing that negligence is widespread and errors rarely corrected. The newspaper wrote that bricklayers at the Lipno Dam construction site had complained that they couldn't fulfill the plan because the bricks were faulty. The carpenters at the site declared that they would have to be artists to work quickly with the warped planks, and the electricians stated that equipment was difficult to install because it was exposed to all kinds of weather for weeks on end:

"But criticize and you are the evil one, Comrade Talafous says. Some Party officials, especially cadre leader Comrade Krejci, are guilty of suppressing criticism and punishing complainants. Comrade Delteil, a mechanic, criticized the transport department. Despite the fact that he is unfit for heavy work, Krejci had him transferred to ditchdigging."

The fear of registering complaints in Communist Europe is further justified by the fact that the term "objective criticism" is often used to camouflage a case of informing. In an editorial entitled "Bankrobber as Cashier," the newspaper *Rude Pravo*, March 3, reported that two "kulaks," a father and son, had "invaded" the Ivancice agricultural cooperative. The son became manager of the cooperative and allegedly had the cooperative chairman, Zapletal, completely under his thumb:

"He appointed his father bookkeeper and the former bank director, Cerny, clerk. . . . But vigilant Communists . . . were on the alert. Their open criticism was rewarded when Dohnal Jr. was sentenced to six years in prison, his father to three and a half years in prison, and chairman Zapletal to four years in prison. Zapletal paid dearly for his lack of vigilance. So 'long as objective criticism brings such results, we need not fear anything or anyone.'"

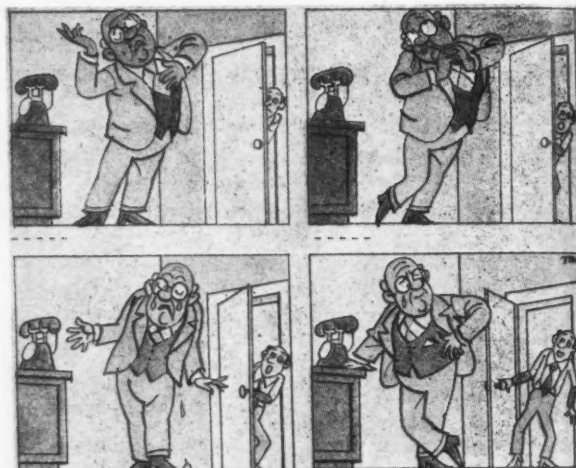
Crocodile Tears

When forced to make public confessions, officials often take the line of least resistance. They mournfully acknowledge that a mistake has been made, since this is demanded of them, but do not bother to point out the real source of trouble or to rectify errors. It is probable that the system itself is the cause of many difficulties, but no criticism of Communism is permitted. Also, from a psychological viewpoint, it is obvious that required admissions of guilt are embarrassing and can easily border on farce. And, since the Communist bureaucracy automatically produces officials who shirk responsibilities and lack pride in their work, it is natural that they seek the easiest solution to their problems and then wait for the storm to blow over.

Insincere and superficial self-criticism is the butt of many attacks in the Communist press. The newspaper

Prace (Prague), February 12, lashed out at a certain Comrade Kvapil who was brought up before his plant committee on the charge of frequent and unexcused absenteeism: "His testimony was a disgusting performance. We will not accept either simple acknowledgment of guilt or crocodile tears. To merely admit one's guilt and to promise improvement is too easy. We must have proof."

The newspaper *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), April 4, complained that formalistic self-criticism was a means of escaping responsibility and avoiding essential improvements: "That is why the conference rightfully objected when . . . the president of the district committee of miners . . . [merely] reported on the work not completed [without suggesting what should be done]."



"Frank, are you rehearsing for the stage?"

"No. Excuse me. I'm preparing myself for this afternoon's meeting. I'm going to give some self-criticism."

From *Dikobraz* (Prague), February 8, 1953

Another attack against insincere self-criticism appeared in the Prague satirical weekly, *Dikobraz*, May 10, which printed the following poem ridiculing those who seek to divest themselves of the burden of guilt by "objectively" blaming errors on so-called "objective causes."

"Unprejudiced, without effects,
Objectively I must confess
That I fulfilled the plan
For time on end
Rather erratically.
But bear in mind,
Reproof will do no good.
What was the cause of bad production?
My word of honor, objective reasons."

Absolution

Proper public confessions are usually servile admissions of failure to follow Party line, and are clearly intended as propaganda for the regime. The publicity given them would be quite pointless were it not for the fact that they

are supposed to enhance the value of "criticism and self-criticism," and prove the efficiency and democracy of the workers' state. A typical example of a desirable confession from the Communist point of view appeared in the April 22 edition of *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia). The penitent claims that he was to blame for mistakes in local cadre policy, and that because of the errors he had tolerated, the problem was not discussed at a single Party conference: "It is obvious that I [violated Party principles], since I agreed to accept improper people at the district committee. . . . This lack of principle affected the work of primary organizations when forming cadres at the district committee."

Criticism in the press is usually a tacit demand for self-criticism, and requires an answer. For instance, *Rude Pravo* (Prague), February 26, reported that in one of its previous issues it had criticized Communists in the Horni Brusnice agricultural cooperative for violating Party principle by trying to get a kulak released from military service. The Party committee in the district wrote a "self-critical" letter to the editor apologizing for its failure to keep village Communists on the right path: "Only because of this could the Party organization decide one way [i.e., according to Party line], and Communists in the national committee and the cooperative in another way. This shortcoming has been eliminated, and all Party members will follow the Party line from now on."

Another characteristic confession, which makes a slight but permissible attempt at face saving, appeared in the January 12 issue of *Dikobraz* (Prague), which had previously criticized the work in a district national committee. The committee wrote back as follows:

"*Dikobraz's* criticism of the muddle in the brick allotment was absolutely correct. We admit the shortcomings, but would like to point out that the mistakes were due not to bureaucracy, but to the fact that the acting official had not been properly trained in the work of his predecessor, who had to be taken to the hospital. But he redeemed himself by restoring order. It will not happen again."

The Critical Press

From the above excerpts it is clear that the Party press is one of the major vehicles for conducting Communist criticism. Unlike a democratic press, which is free to criticize Government leaders and policy, the Communist press is a tool rather than a critic of the State. Its censure is directed not at the Party but at people and agencies failing to comply with regime commands. It must attack domestic and foreign enemies, agricultural and industrial shortcomings, and Party members and ordinary citizens who deviate from prescribed policy. It denounces "bourgeois habits," un-Socialistic attitudes and ideological lapses. It guards the State order and serves as an instrument of fear.

Public exposure of erring Party members is certain to bring them to heel. This technique is commonly employed by the Satellite press acting the role of critic. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), December 1, 1952 rebuked Communists for

deviating from Party line, citing as an example the case of Comrade Nondek from the Ministry of Agriculture:

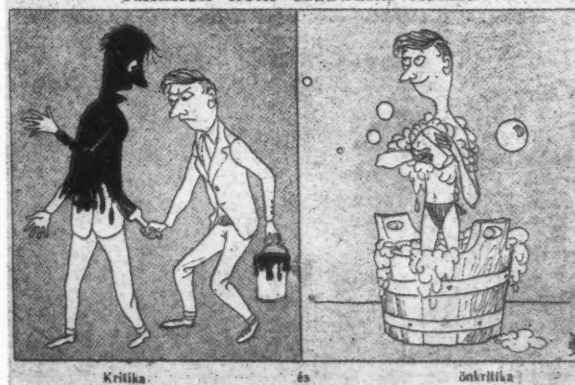
"Admittedly, he studied a great deal, but only a few days after *Rude Pravo* had published the article, 'Who Are the Village Rich?' he announced this marvelous theory at the teachers' school: 'Comrades, the editorial in *Rude Pravo* is correct. But this is only theory. The practice is different.' According to Comrade Nondek, there are 'good' kulaks, too, who can play their part in building Socialism. A fine theory. And a fine instructor!"

Control of Production

Another task of the Party press is to help boost production by citing shortcomings in various enterprises. Needless to say, the newspapers voice no criticism of regime plans or the structure of Communist economy. When production lags, the cause is most often attributed to inefficiency or indolence, rather than to excessive norms, low pay, poor worker living conditions or lack of incentive. Further, when the press attacks workers or managers for not applying the principles of "criticism or self-criticism," it means that they have not fulfilled Party instructions. Thus, the Hungarian newspaper *Nepszava* (Budapest), December 2, 1952, blamed poor export production in the Gheorghiu-Dej Shipyards on the directors' lethargy and failure to employ disciplinary measures, despite the fact that a number of workers had been reprimanded, fined or dismissed for violations of discipline:

"As a result of [the management's uncritical attitude] there has been no improvement. The shop committee has not explained the significance of export work to the workers. It has not pointed out the importance of fulfilling the plan in this decisive plan year. Instead of practicing criticism and self-criticism, managers and trade union leaders . . . have opportunistically contributed to shortcomings."

Aminek nem szabadna lennie



Caption: What Should Not Happen.

Left: Criticism.
Right: Self-criticism.

Ludas Matyi, February 19, 1953



1. How dare you criticize me! I'll show you criticism! You won't get anywhere with me. I'll tear you to pieces! And furthermore, we will have to have a closer look at your activities.



2. Comrade, if you want to criticize, better think it over first. Every criticism aimed at me is criticism of the head of the central management. We consult each other. I really advise you not to.



3. Some comrades talked about shortcomings in my work. I do not think it necessary to dwell on these unseemly attacks and therefore we will go on to the next point on the program.



4. Comrade Novak who criticized me forgets that I am older than he, that he was still on a school bench when I was already in charge of this plant. He should be ashamed.



5. What, the egg wiser than the hen! We'll see who's right. No. No, boy. Pull yourself together and think it over. Come see me again when you are able to do more than I can.



6. I'll tear them to pieces . . . all those scribbles, those damned accusers! If only I had them in my hands . . . I'd tear them to pieces, just like that!

← A Gallery of Those Who Cannot Accept Criticism: Do You Recognize Yourself By Any Chance? From *Svet Prace* (Prague), March 5, 1953

Another characteristic complaint appeared in the April 3 edition of *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), which wrote that the workers' initiative was not supported at the Rositza Dam construction site and that little attempt had been made to economize or to apply the principles of Soviet shockworkers Levchenkov and Muhanov. Similarly, the Romanian newspaper *Scanteia* (Bucharest), April 19, wrote that the Ministry of Timber, Paper and Cellulose was responsible for production lags and poor quality output: "Cellulose plants do not receive the necessary quantity of timber in time. . . . Paper output is so slow and inadequate that magazines and papers are published with great delay. Because of poor quality paper, the print is faint and difficult to read."

A third example will suffice to show the general tenor of this kind of criticism. The publication *Munca* (Bucharest), April 8, deplored the scant attention paid to the Stakhanovite movement:

"The executive board at [the Jiet III Mine] is mainly to blame for this situation. . . . But the administration is also guilty because it has not organized adequate technical conditions. Miners constantly [waste time] running to the head manager, the chairman of the executive board, and so on, in order to voice complaints about lack of freight cars, . . . a deficiency due to the unsatisfactory organization of transport. . . . Quite a few foremen, workshop supervisors and engineers seem to think that competition does not concern them. . . . Therefore, it is not surprising that only 35 groups of miners out of 65 are working on schedule. The same lack of Stakhanovite enthusiasm can be noticed at the Electroaparataj factory . . . due to the bureaucratic attitude of trade union managers."

The Lighter Touch

For less crucial or more general shortcomings, criticism in a more humorous vein is employed. The Bulgarian comic weekly *Sturshel* (Sofia), April 10, printed the following attack on bureaucracy, a common failing throughout the administration:

"Yesterday I met my good friend Mitko from the [supply department of the] Weather Bureau at the station. . . . 'Where are you going?' I asked.

"I'm going to Popovo to buy ten boxes of thumb tacks."

"Well, so long. Call me when you return."

"Oh, I won't be back for six months at least. From Popovo, I'm going to Plovdiv to get an ax; after that to Smolian to get a handle for the ax; and from there I'm going to Pazardjik to get a vine-cutter. Then I'm going to Botevgrad to buy five wooden hangers, and then to Stanke Dimitrov for three coal bins. From there, I'm going to Kustendil to buy two large tin cans. . . ."

The same issue of the newspaper criticized other forms of inefficiency. One editorial declared ironically that the paper was in search of the owner of a new Soviet tractor which had been left in the "no man's land" between Alexievo and Zlatia since 1952: "Until now, the directors [of tractor stations nearby] have only informed us that the machine does not belong to them. For your information: those interested in the tractor can still find it in the same place."

A third editorial in *Sturshel* satirized the indolent method of paving streets: "First, several streets are torn up. Then granite blocks and sand are stacked nearby. The digging is endless. After that, nothing is done. This kind of paving is the practice . . . at Russe City People's Council."

Un-Socialistic Attitudes

Poetry is also used to satirize popular failings. On a full page entitled "Criticism, Criticism," *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), May 1, included three poems attacking, opportunism, lethargy, loafing and lack of vigilance:

I Still Know Many Such Gentlemen

I still know many such gentlemen
Who say: "Why not?
Give us a comfortable sleeper
And we'll go."
Several full suitcases,
A subtle scent of perfume . . .
Socialism? Why not?
Perhaps the train goes there.
We are sleepy. The train goes on.
The rhythm on the rails. Wake us up
Half an hour before
The last station.
A sudden jerk. The station. They open their eyes.
And the rails sing again:
Nowa Huta. Tychy
Czestochowa. Zeran.
Half-awake, they stare at all these places.
No, gentlemen. Not like that. One cannot
Travel this road in luxury.
Our feet must bleed sometimes.
We must forget our sleep.
We have already helped you
To march on, our gentlemen-sleepers!
Someone's pioneering march
Made possible our every step.
At every obstacle there is someone
Who gives us a helping hand.
We are given daily help
By the mighty Soviet Union.
And thus all those who have no fear of life
Must strengthen their will and muscles.
Our every effort must lead us to the goal:
Socialism. That greatest goal: Happiness.

Gapers

Hello? Is that you, Barbara?
Send me immediately, my dear,
The envelopes marked "Strictly Confidential."

Yes, your aunt can bring them over. . . .
I always forget them. For weeks now
They have been in the back pocket of my trousers.
What? You sent them to the laundry?
Tragic!

Dear Mr. Charles, in my enterprise
There's lots of news.
We're printing instructions
For gas stations.
This is because we began to produce
New vehicles, gas-propelled.
Cheap and efficient gas-propelled cars. . . .
One of these stations will be about here
Do I? Do I really look nice in this suit?
Yes, I have a good dressmaker.
Her address? Can't tell. An official secret.

Say, tell me Gustek
Where are the guards?
Why is the Bureau of Passes empty?
What? I see, everyone's at the meeting,
While uninvited guests roam about the place. . .
Where is our factory guard?
At the meeting? Listening to a lecture
On vigilance? Pardon me!

There are still such plants
(Production there never increases)
Where files are open
And people's eyes shut.
Give way, you gapers. The guards change!
Files will be closed and eyes will be open!

Women

A certain loafer
Forgetting work,
Wanted to take
A girl for a walk.
The first girl said:
"Go away, don't bother me.
I'm busy
Building a house."
The second girl said:
"Nothing doing.
I'm attending a course—
I'm a conductor."
The third girl said:
"Don't be stupid!
I don't run around—
I'm a tool-maker."
The fourth girl said:
"You'll wait in vain.
I'm a roof-maker
And busy."
. . . .
The loafer sighed: "My tragic lot.
One is a builder, the other a joiner.
They are all busy and all work.
Whom shall I take for a walk?"
He doesn't know that they go for walks,
Oh, yes indeed—after work.
Not with him and not alone.
They were taken by fine shockworkers.

III. GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS

Recent events behind the Iron Curtain included elections to the Hungarian Parliament, re-establishment of the Patriarchate of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, and a Czechoslovak amnesty. The elections were clearly Communist-managed; the re-creation of a Patriarchate was designed to tighten Government control over the Church; and the amnesty, although intended to prove the regime's clemency, did not include political prisoners or put a stop to the persecution of so-called internal enemies.

In other fields, shortcomings were cited. In Bulgaria, the failures of administrative and Party organs were sharply criticized, and in Poland it was announced that subversion was on the increase and that vigilance had to be improved. In all countries, anti-West propaganda continued to be featured in the press. These editorials, based chiefly on the exchange of Korean PWs, provided numerous contrasts between "Kremlin peace efforts" and "US rearmament."

Hungarian Elections

Under the slogan of national unity, the Hungarian Communist regime waged an intense campaign for the May 17 elections to Parliament. Propaganda emphasized the democratic character of the elections, Communist peace efforts, and the accomplishments and plans of the Rakosi regime. However, press reports revealed that despite Government efforts to whip up national enthusiasm many people were apathetic because of the inevitable outcome of the elections. Others openly expressed doubts about their freedom in voting.

For the first time in Communist Hungary, no party other than the Communist was officially recognized. In 1949, it was explicitly stated that the Hungarian Workers Party, the Peasant Party, the Smallholders Party, the Radical Party, and the Independent Democratic Party were represented in the Independent People's Front. Since 1949, these parties have had no function and no influence. In the current elections, non-Party candidates were simply described as representatives of the people in general and "collaborators" of the regime. Radio Budapest, April 29, defined the People's Front as an alliance between the Communist Party and the working masses for "the sacred aim of building a Socialist Hungary." The commentator explained that there was no need for rival political parties because the nation had become almost completely unified in the past four years:

"Naturally, the structure of the People's Front changes with the development of the People's Democracy. In 1949, the People's Front was a coalition of five parties. . . . Since 1949, with the realization of the program of the Independent People's Front, our state has grown stronger. With the exception of the kulaks, we have rid our people's economy of the last vestiges of the capitalist classes. Since there is no capitalist class in our system, and since we do not permit kulaks to form a

political party, we have no Democratic, Republican, Social Democratic Party . . . or others like them, since this would only mislead the working people. . . . In the coming elections, candidates of rival political parties will not run. Candidates will be nominated by the Independent People's Front, which is the militant alliance of patriotic forces and fronts—the workers, the working peasants, the intellectuals [etc.]."

Dubious Voters

Despite this propaganda, Hungarian citizens apparently had no illusions about the meaning of the single ballot system. Radio Kossuth, April 26, complained that some people, "deceived by enemy propaganda," doubted that the elections could be democratic if there was no opposition party:

". . . Mrs. Karoly Vakarcz pondered about this for some time and kept repeating: since there is no opposition, those whom the Party appoints will be elected anyhow. But Mrs. Ferenc Fukar set her straight: now, the opposition consists of kulaks, agents of the clerical reaction and alien elements left from the old regime. And if it were up to them, the son and son-in-law of Mrs. Vakarcz would not [now] be officers in the People's Army."

Doubts and cynicism were also reflected in the attitude of propagandists and Party officials. *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), April 17, reported that one Party secretary had failed to organize a propaganda course for election activists, and that at a special meeting he had said the elections were a matter of secondary importance: "Everybody will vote here anyway," he is alleged to have declared.

Another Party secretary expressed a similar attitude: "This is the time for plowing and sowing. Crop collection is far more important than [agitation courses]. The elections will go smoothly anyhow."

On April 18, *Szabad Nep* reported that officials had not bothered to distribute pamphlets published by the Party to facilitate propaganda work. And on April 19, *Szabad Nep* criticized officials who claimed that it was unnecessary to campaign because "the People's Front platform is so excellent that any special effort to convince people of this would be superfluous."

One of the major tasks of propagandists was to stress the importance of increased production. According to *Szabad Nep*, April 8, citizens had to show their confidence in the government not only by voting but also by outstanding production records. On April 13, *Szabad Nep* explained that the platform of the People's Front "is successful completion of the Five Year Plan."

The Party "Re-nominated"

From April 8-22, nomination meetings were held by mass organizations, factories, machine stations, state farms, agricultural cooperatives, offices and institutions. Prime Minister Matyas Rakosi and his Party colleagues were naturally nominated as leading representatives. *Szabad Nep*, April 24, joyfully interpreted these results as evi-

dence of the people's confidence in the Party. These assertions of national solidarity were obvious attempts to conceal the fact that the Party Political Committee had prepared the list of candidates well in advance:

"The people's profound confidence in the Party was demonstrated at the meetings, when the people proudly and enthusiastically nominated as their first representative . . . Comrade Matyas Rakosi. . . . The Hungarian people also affectionately nominated the loyal sons of our Party and nation: Rakosi's immediate associates. . . . These meetings demonstrated once again the indissoluble unity of the Party, the government and the people."

Following the nominations, election meetings were held beginning April 26. Party functionaries, heads of mass organizations and other officials toured the country disseminating the Party platform. *Szabad Nep*, April 27, recorded the more important speeches delivered by leading Communists. Adhering to Party line, the speakers demanded increased production, praised the Plan, emphasized Communist peace aims and eulogized Rakosi and the Soviet Union.

Gyorgy Parragi, chief editor of *Magyar Nemzet*, underscored the Communist "peace policy": "Differences in religion, nationality or opinion cannot divide us. We all strive towards the same magnificent goal: peace. This is the most sacred goal because it is a guarantee for a happy life."

Minister of Defense Mihaly Farkas declared that peace could only be secured by strengthening the Armed Forces:

"We cannot leave our flourishing and prosperous young country and our free people defenseless at a time when the imperialists are engaged in feverish [rearmament]. During the past four years our Party and Government have made certain that our country has a strong People's Army. . . . Now we may . . . say that while we have something worth defending, we also have the means with which to defend it."

Deputy Prime Minister Erno Gero stressed national solidarity and, with typical Communist logic, declared: "The People's Front character of the . . . elections will be further enhanced by the fact that a great number of Hungarian Workers' Party members will be among the candidates." Gero also paid tribute to the Soviet Union and declared that Hungarian achievements were due to the fact that the Soviet Army had destroyed the Nazis and the power of Hungarian capitalists.

The Cautious Clergy

An interesting feature in the election campaign was a pastoral letter written by Hungarian Bishops to Catholic priests and parishioners. Obviously ordered by the regime to demonstrate clerical support of the government, the letter was a cautiously worded statement which contained no direct praise of Communist achievements and which evinced a clearly skeptical attitude towards Communist plans.

As published in the April 29 edition of *Magyar Nemzet*,

the letter calls upon the people to "fulfill their duties as citizens" but makes no direct appeal to them to go to the polls. The rest of the letter is constructed in the same circumspect language:

" . . . We call your attention to the plans with which everyone is concerned and which will be presented to the nation by the . . . candidates. There are plans for increasing [production], for further developing agriculture, and for building apartments. . . . We, too, sincerely approve such plans. . . . Economists are confronted with the problem of supplying the increasing world population. Malthus sought to solve this problem by birth control. This is a Philistine way of thinking. . . . Our government . . . is willing to face the problem . . . with modern scientific production methods, mother and child care, the building of apartments. It is not trying to deplete our population, but to strengthen the nation."

The same guarded tone is used in reference to Communist cultural plans:

" . . . If in our country today there are two and a half times as many secondary schools as there were before the war, and the number of colleges and university students has increased fourfold, . . . our church can only be happy, because it welcomes the progress made by its followers, and the rising social standards of the many sons of the poor."

The pastoral letter then states: "We Catholics are not afraid of intellectual progress because we are convinced that the more man succeeds in subduing the forces of nature with scientific tools, the more aware he becomes of the superiority of his soul, and the closer he comes to God."

In conclusion, the letter deals with peace: "For all these plans and programs, the condition is peace. . . . While at the time of the elections we sincerely hope that the welfare of our people will improve and their intellectual and cultural standards rise, we also pray to God for the preservation of peace, and ask him to bless the efforts of our national leaders to preserve [it]."

New Bulgarian Patriarch

On May 10, Radio Sofia announced that as a result of elections held by the Patriarchal Electoral Council, Cyril, Archbishop of Plovdiv, had been elected Patriarch of the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church. This election is undoubtedly of great political and religious significance. For the first time in nearly six centuries, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church is to have a Patriarch, a decision made, paradoxically enough, by the Communists in order to implement their overtly anti-religious policy.

The last Bulgarian Patriarch, Evtimiy, was taken prisoner by the Turks on July 17, 1393, and died in exile. From 1394 to 1870, when the country was ruled by the Turks, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church was subject to the rule of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. In 1870, after a long popular struggle for religious freedom, the Sultan agreed to the re-establishment of an independent Bulgarian Church under an Exarchate. Between 1872 and

1915, two Exarchs were elected as heads of the Holy Synod: Antim (1872-1877) and Joseph (1877-1915). From 1915 to 1945 no new Exarch was elected.

When the Communists took power in September 1944, Stephan, Archbishop of Sofia, who cooperated with the Communists, was elected with their support as the third Exarch. Stephan soon antagonized the Party and was removed from office and interned in a monastery. Cyril, Archbishop of Plovdiv, was appointed acting President of the Holy Synod.

In 1951, the Holy Synod adopted a new Statute of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church which provided for the election of a Patriarch. The statute stated that the Patriarch "must have a good reputation and be trusted by the people and the Government. . . . The election [of a Patriarch] is to be registered by the Holy Synod, which will then inform the Minister of Foreign Affairs . . . and ask him for Government approval."

It is clear that the Patriarch must be considered politically trustworthy and receive Government sanction. The Statute tries to prevent any mishaps in the election by stipulating that the Patriarchal Electoral Church-People's Congress be composed of 52 clergymen and 55 laymen—the latter comprising Government or Fatherland officials.

"The Marxist Anti-Christ"

Although preparations for the election of a Bulgarian Patriarch were made at the beginning of 1952, news of the election itself came as a surprise in a May 8 bulletin from the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency announcing that the Church-People's Congress would convene between May 8-10. The Congress was opened by Cyril, and greeted by Michael Kiuchukov, Director of Cults, acting as the Government's representative. Guests included the Metropolitan of Leningrad, the Romanian Patriarch Justinian, Archbishop Makari from the Polish Orthodox Church and Archbishop Elefteri from the Czechoslovak Orthodox Church. 104 of the 107 electors voted for the Government-sponsored candidate, Cyril. One vote went to the aged Archbishop Neofit of Vidin, and two daring electors dropped empty ballots into the box.

According to Bulgarian exiles, the main reason for the Patriarchal election is to purge deeply religious, anti-Communist priests while ostensibly granting the Church new power: "As a matter of policy, it is obviously more convenient for the Government to have the Church conduct its own purges rather than to do so itself and risk incurring the wrath of indignant parishioners. Under Cyril's leadership, anti-regime priests will be replaced by so-called patriotic priests and, in this way, Church pulpits will become sounding boards for Communist propaganda."

It is also possible that the regime has another goal in mind. Provinces formerly under the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarchate are now part of Turkish, Greek and Yugoslav territory. Sofia Communists may want to use the new Patriarchate to reassert the old rights of religious administration in these provinces. Greece, which of the three countries is most sensitive to such religious manifestations,

was the first to react to the election of the Patriarch. *To Vima*, organ of the Liberal Greek-Rally, wrote on April 25:

"It has been learned that the Bulgarian Church intends to elevate itself into a Patriarchate based on two entirely anti-Christian foundations: Communism and the Iron Curtain, which hermetically seals off Bulgaria from the rest of the world. Thus, the Bulgarian Church will become a Patriarchate solely by the wish of the Communist Government and without the sanction of competent ecclesiastical authorities. This will be the unique example in history of a 'Christian Church' acquiring titles and creating offices through a contract under which it has sold its soul to the Marxist Anti-Christ."

Polish Primate Attacked

The Polish regime launched a new attack against the Episcopate in connection with a Radio Free Europe broadcast on the 700th anniversary of the canonization of St. Stanislaw, a Bishop of Cracow. The Warsaw Government claimed that emigres supported by RFE and the Polish Primate had distorted history by playing up St. Stanislaw's role as a martyr and that the former had used the anniversary to accuse the Communists of persecuting the Church.

Bishop Stanislaw was killed in his church by King Boleslaw the Bold. According to some sources, he was murdered because he publicly denounced the King for immorality. Other historians claim that he was executed because he sided with the King's political opponents in league with the German Emperor. The latter view has been adopted by the Communists. However, despite the mystery surrounding Bishop Stanislaw's death, he has been revered throughout Polish Catholic history as the first Pole canonized by the Church. The cult of St. Stanislaw greatly contributed to the development of medieval Poles' national consciousness.

The Radio Free Europe broadcast dealt with a proclamation of the exiled Archbishop Gawlina on the martyrdom of Bishop Stanislaw. In answer, Radio Warsaw, May 5, declared:

"In the opinion of many people who are not familiar with historical truth, St. Stanislaw is a martyr Bishop, and in addition, a Cracovian Bishop. What an occasion for a super-campaign, patterned on American super-advertising. A great campaign on the martyrdom of the Church in People's Poland. . . . Appeals were published which mentioned St. Stanislaw only in their introduction, while the rest contained . . . old and new lies about alleged persecutions of religion in Poland."

Radio Warsaw condemned the Polish Episcopate for allowing the clergy to take part in this campaign and for failing to denounce Archbishop Gawlina and other members of the emigre clergy. The commentator revealed that the response to the Radio Free Europe broadcast was strong, and that contrary to regime expectations celebrations of the anniversary had been carried out:

"Knowing the structure of the Church organization and the principles of Church hierarchy, it is doubtful that the clergy would take part in this campaign against the will of the Polish Episcopate, headed by the Primate. This is further confirmed by the fact that Church leaders did not protest this glaring abuse of religion by the clergy subordinate to them. They did not declare that Archbishop Gawlina and the group of emigre clergy have no right to speak on behalf of the Polish clergy.

"On the contrary, we hear that efforts [were] made to give the celebrations in honor of St. Stanislaw a special and unambiguous splendor. It seems that there are people who would like to carry out the dirty campaign against the State within Poland and within the same religious framework."

Purge of Wacław Komar

In a speech to the Eighth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Polish Communist Party, Minister of Security Stanisław Radkiewicz revealed that General Wacław Komar, former Vice-Minister of National Defense and a member of the Party's Central Committee, had been liquidated for conducting anti-State activities. Radkiewicz's statement, as printed in the March issue of *Nowe Drogi* (Warsaw), suggested the possibility of a recent Army purge: "The elimination of such political subversionists as Spychalski, and the exposure of the treacherous activities of Komar and Company—these are stages in our fight against the class enemy. These are blows dealt by our Party against . . . hostile imperialist agencies."

Komar, a veteran Communist who participated in the Spanish Civil War, underwent military and intelligence training in the Soviet Union. At the outbreak of World War II he became an officer in the Soviet Army and, later, chief of the Intelligence Service in the Polish Army. In 1948, he was named head of the Foreign Department of the Ministry of Public Security, and supervised a purge of military attaches who had been pre-war officers. At the time of the Greek Civil War, Komar helped organize and train Communist partisan brigades in Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania. In November 1950, at Rokossowski's orders, he became Quartermaster General of the Polish Army with the title of Vice-Minister of National Defense.

Although the reasons for Komar's liquidation are not known, some observers state that his activities in Greece and Spain expose him to the charge of "cosmopolitanism." Furthermore, as Intelligence Chief, Komar's thorough knowledge of his colleagues' private affairs may have made him a number of enemies.

Radkiewicz Stresses Vigilance

Radkiewicz's speech to the Eighth Plenum dealt chiefly with the need for greater vigilance. The Minister stated that anti-Communist espionage centers, acting in behalf of the US, had intensified their activities under the Eisenhower administration, and that sabotage in Poland was on the increase. Radkiewicz attributed this rise in anti-State action to the Republican "liberation policy" which, he claimed, was aimed at creating unrest in Communist coun-

tries: "It provides for the development of espionage . . . the organization of sabotage in more important industrial plants, production slowdowns, and thus also for the lowering of workers' wages."

Radkiewicz vigorously attacked Polish emigres for supporting this policy, and warned against the influence of the Western Radio which, he said, was responsible for many dangerous rumors and crimes. Radkiewicz pointed out that all Party members must bear in mind the fact that these stations transmit instructions to hostile organizations within the country and corrupt "politically backward" people. "The enemy fully appreciates the efficacy of this poisonous weapon. That is why he develops his radio network. . . . We cannot ignore or underestimate its danger. Our attitude cannot be negative. All Party organizations must join in the fight against it."

In discussing the danger of stepped-up anti-Communist activity, Radkiewicz complained that lack of vigilance is evident throughout the country and that cases of economic sabotage are numerous. In Gdansk, for instance, a dockyard worker bored holes in a ship's frame so that it would collapse; in the Bytom mine, two subversionists threw explosives into a stove, thereby damaging drilling machines and other equipment; in the Borek mine, a saboteur tried to set fire to a conveyor belt, and at the construction site of another mine two men removed the ball bearings from a new machine.

The Minister cited other cases indicating gross negligence. He said that secret documents are stolen, military information is disclosed, and unreliable persons are chosen for important posts. For example, the Chairman of the Economic Commission in Białogrod systematically removed papers from the Presidium of the District National Council and handed them over to a foreign espionage cell in Warsaw. A militiaman in Zielona Góra offered a former Army friend lodgings for the night. After a few drinks, the militiaman told his friend that his station was a storage place for arms and ammunition and described the setup. When the militiaman fell asleep, his friend stole a uniform, six grenades, a pistol and other weapons. After deploing these incidents, Radkiewicz concluded:

"We must safeguard the secrecy of files, documents and personal records, check identity cards and certificates of authorization. We must be thoroughly acquainted with people's pasts. . . . These are basic duties of every activist in a responsible position. . . . The same vigilance should be taught to and observed by every industrial guard, every employee in offices dealing with passes and certificates, and by every cadre manager."

Moral Disintegration

Chairman of the Party Control Commission Franciszek Jozwiak-Witold revealed at the Eighth Plenum that 6,693* Party members had been expelled in 1952. Although in comparison with 1951 the percentage of those dismissed as alien factors had decreased from 55 to 38, the percentage of those dismissed for lack of discipline and moral

*This figure refers to purges made only by the Party and does not include those conducted by security organs.

disintegration had increased from 45 to 62. Jozwiak-Witold sharply criticized the low moral caliber of Party members and claimed that drunkenness, gossip-mongering and lack of vigilance were prevalent. "The most severe measures should be applied to those guilty of these sins, including expulsion from the Party and dismissal from their jobs." Jozwiak-Witold also said that there were many Party members who suffered from diseases "which must be cured," and that incurables should be mercilessly eliminated.

Jozwiak-Witold pointed out, however, that despite the fact that emphasis has recently been put on the "correct moral attitude" of Party members, it is still necessary to fight hostile elements. Negligence in this field, he said, had permitted enemy infiltration: "For instance, Kopowski, the Secretary of the Municipal [Party] Committee in Slupsk, surrounded himself with strangers and enemies upon whom he became dependent. They set the tone of the Committee's activities . . . and led it on the road to opportunism."

Enemies allegedly include former members of the Polish Underground Army (AK), former regular officers, members of the Sanacja and kulaks: "In one of the district committees of the PGR [State Farms] 46 of the 108 employees were [hostile]: 15 were former employees of the Sanacja apparatus, 18, former officers of the Sanacja and the AK."

Czechoslovak Amnesty

On May 3, the Czechoslovak Press Agency reported that President Antonin Zapotocky, following the example of the USSR and Romania, had granted an amnesty for criminals. Although Minister of Justice Stefan Rais asserted in *Rude Pravo* (Prague), May 5, that the "amnesty is proof of the profound Socialist humanitarian conception which animates our entire state and social order," the amnesty does not apply to a large category of political prisoners and has not put a stop to the persecution of internal opposition.

Prisoners convicted of high treason, sabotage, espionage and similar crimes, and those sentenced to more than five years in prison for stealing or damaging national property are not included under the amnesty. The amnesty also does not apply to those convicted under the Law on Retribution, which was directed against Nazi collaborationists. In the latter case, however, convicts can be pardoned by the President on the recommendation of Minister of Justice Rais.

Convicts included under the amnesty are to have one third of their sentences remitted. Complete pardon will be granted those serving sentences of less than one year, or two years in the case of young persons, pregnant women and mothers with children under ten years of age. Life imprisonment is to be changed to 20 years and convicts suffering from chronic illnesses or over 60 years of age will be freed.

Convicted soldiers were also amnestied by Antonin Zapotocky on April 30. According to *Prace* (Prague), May 4, soldiers sentenced to one year in prison will be freed and

those serving terms exceeding one year will have one third of their sentences remitted. Fines have been reduced on the same scale. In the field of administrative law, Prime Minister Siroky's Cabinet granted an amnesty for civil servants, the provisions of which are identical with the amnesty for soldiers.

New Trials

Rais' statement that the amnesty proves the regime's humanitarian character is outright propaganda, especially in view of the recent trials against "internal enemies." The newspaper *Rovnost* (Brno), April 4, reported that a man named Alfons Strava had been sentenced to eight years imprisonment because he had "ignored kulak meetings and plots and did not know that his son had desecrated a Red Army monument. He did not comply with the sowing plan and failed to fulfill his delivery obligations."

The most outspoken opponents of the regime are agricultural workers and middle farmers who have failed to support the Communist collectivization program. Also included among enemy ranks are public officials, and adolescents who, until now, have been considered the "pillars of Socialist reconstruction." The newspaper *Zemedske Noviny* (Prague), April 2, reported that a group of "subversive youths" had been tried in Pardubice between March 30-31, and had been sentenced to prison for terms ranging from 3 to 15 years. Under the alleged influence of pulp literature (detective and adventure stories) and their "bourgeois Boy Scout education," the youths damaged railroad tracks and other national property and planned terrorist acts, such as the destruction of bridges and railroad junctions.

On April 11, *Rovnost* (Brno), announced that six persons had been sentenced by the Zidlochovice People's Court for robbing or assisting in robberies of national property. One defendant was accused of stealing continually between 1948-51, and of secretly storing arms. Described as a technical expert who had received several awards for innovations, he was accused of destroying the molds for his inventions before his arrest. Also, "he secretly butchered a hog when his mother, as an independent farmer, was deprived of her ration tickets . . . and he awaited only one event—the 'overthrow' so fervently desired by all enemies. The [court justly] sent him to prison for fourteen years."

Rude Pravo (Prague), April 21, recorded yet another trial. On April 19, in Olesnice, Moravia, three men were sentenced to death and seven to prison on the charge of high treason. The group was accused of plotting terrorist acts, planning to overthrow the government, distributing slanderous leaflets and posters, and building hideouts in Moravian forests:

"Under the influence of his kulak employers, main defendant Josef Matous became the executor of their intentions. Late in 1951, he attended a dance. . . Half-intoxicated, he uttered offenses against the Republic. Then he fled to the woods. In his hideout, he met former Agrarian functionary Josef Janca, who supplied

him with a gun and instigated him to arson. Through the former chairman [and secretary] of the local national committee in Ustupy . . . Matous became acquainted with L. Toul and Frantisek Huka. The latter supported him. They listened to foreign broadcasts together. [The two committee officials] approved when Huka did not fulfill his delivery obligations for many years . . . and permitted him to slaughter hogs secretly. . . . He also became acquainted with middle farmer Josef Krejci, [who] incited him to kill [the] chairman of the Communist village organization and [a] member of the local national committee. Only by chance did the [Communist chairman] escape death, but he will be an invalid for the rest of his life."

The Omnipresent Zapotocky

On March 22, Vice-Chairman of the Czechoslovak Cabinet Zdenek Nejedly attempted to explain why posts previous held by Gottwald had been distributed among several Party leaders. "Zapotocky," he said "cannot become another Gottwald, and therefore Zapotocky will not be alone." However, from reports on the recent activities of Antonin Zapotocky, it appears that the new Czechoslovak President is making a bid for popularity, and trying to prove that, contrary to Nejedly's statement, he can become another Gottwald and equally "indispensable."

In the past few weeks, Zapotocky's calendar has been staggering. On April 9, he visited the Infantry Military Training School in Hranice, Moravia, and attended a "peace" demonstration where workers made new pledges and presented him with gifts. On April 16, Prime Minister Viliam Siroky submitted his Cabinet's program to the National Assembly. The President put in an unusual appearance at Parliament. The official press agency reported that on the first day of the "debate," accompanied by Siroky and the Ministers of Interior and National Security, he had driven through Prague in an open car and had been "enthusiastically acclaimed by the people." Exiles point out that Gottwald never risked such a ride. In Parliament, Zapotocky did not limit himself to the required ovations of the legislators. He received delegations from various professional groups, introduced to him by the respective Ministers.

Zapotocky's social calendar has also been crowded. On April 19, *Rude Pravo* (Prague), reported that the President had attended a performance at Tyl Theater where he "was welcomed by the audience with ringing cheers." The same issue of the newspaper reported that on April 18, Zapotocky had visited an exhibition at the Prague Artists' Club. He has also attempted to ingratiate himself with sports fans. On April 26, he attended the soccer match between Czechoslovakia and Italy at the Spartak Prague Sokolovo Stadium. He was also a prominent figure at May Day celebrations and at festivities commemorating the eighth anniversary of Czechoslovakia's "liberation by the Soviet Armies." It is significant that last year Gottwald did not attend the May Day parade but merely delivered a message which was read by Zapotocky.



Harcokosik a Szálka-téri díszszemlén.

Armored cars in the Stalin Square parade on Liberation Day.

From *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), April 6, 1953

On May 2, *Rude Pravo* reported that Zapotocky had attended a reception given by Bacilek for outstanding members of the National Security Corps. "The President was greeted enthusiastically and spent considerable time genially conversing with National Security Corps members." Shortly after this, Zapotocky granted military and civilian amnesties.

It is clear that the President's known ability for handling people is standing him in good stead. So far, he has not had an opportunity to officiate at a Party function. The impending Tenth Congress of the Slovak Communist Party may provide him with this opportunity.

People's Councils Criticized

The newly-elected Bulgarian People's Councils (See December 1952 issue, pp. 18-19) recently held regular sessions to discuss methods of local implementation of government policies. According to the newspaper *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), April 12, the sessions were unsatisfactory. All the deputies did not attend, and little effort was made to increase worker attendance. The newspaper also complained that many deputies had neither coordinated their activities with Fatherland Front organizations nor fulfilled promises made to the people during the election campaign. Administrative personnel on the People's Councils were also criticized, because they had neither acquainted new deputies with the tasks confronting them nor helped to arrange mass meetings.

The People's Councils have also neglected the task of mobilizing workers to fulfill Party and Government plans. Permanent commissions on the Councils are the channels

through which this mobilization takes place. However, *Otechestven Front* revealed that in many districts permanent commissions have been inactive and have neither collaborated with Fatherland Front organizations nor assigned them specific tasks. Another complaint, registered in the April 18 edition of *Otechestven Front*, was that the Executive People's Councils had not implemented their decisions and that officials had substituted bureaucracy for efficiency.

The above shortcomings indicate that the Communist regime has been unable to improve local administration, and that lack of coordination and efficiency are hampering Government planning.

In 1952, the Bulgarian Communist Party introduced annual Party Conferences in order to improve Party work and control the fulfillment of economic plans. From reports on this year's conferences it appears that Party organizations throughout the country have not rendered sufficient help in increasing production and that their work methods are exceedingly lax. Failure to carry out Party decisions, negligence, disunity and bureaucracy were among the major criticisms listed in the press.

Rabotnichesko Delo (Sofia), April 27, complained that cooperative enterprises in Blagoevgrad are behind schedule because of poor Party political work, and that so far nothing has been done to remedy matters. Similar criticisms appeared throughout the month. On April 6, *Rabotnichesko Delo* declared that in Stalingrad, Party organizations had neglected work in economic organizations and that Party protocols were filed without even being read. The newspaper also condemned bureaucratic work methods: "The Bureau has not abolished lengthy conferences. Some last from 10-12 hours . . . and a number of impractical decisions are made. . . . In the past year, hostile elements . . . cost the national economy a loss of over one million leva."

On April 18, *Rabotnichesko Delo* reported that the Trojan Party Committee tolerated violations of inner Party unity and made inadequate checks on plan fulfillment. And on May 4, *Rabotnichesko Delo* wrote that Pleven Party organizations had not helped organize work competitions and that, consequently, competitions were intensified only during national celebrations: "The basic weakness in the work of district, county and city committees is the poor check on the implementation of decisions and the tolerance shown those responsible for [unfilled tasks]." These complaints and numerous others like them reveal that Party organizations have not given sufficient help in boosting production.

Propaganda

Although the Communists have softened their attacks against the West, the hate campaign still continues, and "peace propaganda" is consistently bellicose. The Czechoslovak newspaper *Svobodne Slovo* (Prague), April 22, published a typical Communist distortion of current events

by claiming that the present respite in the cold war was due solely to Communist efforts:

"International tension has relaxed in recent weeks. We all feel it. Is this purely accidental? Did the capitalists earning fat profits from armament stocks say: 'We will give up our wars and our profits?' . . . Miracles do not happen, and we cannot expect munitions manufacturers and warmongering generals to become peace-loving lambs overnight. The relaxation was a result of the mighty and unceasing efforts . . . of our democratic camp. . . ."

Most anti-West propaganda dealt with the repatriation of PW's in Korea. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), April 22, printed the following "objective" report from Panmunjom:

"Tanned, smiling and warmly clad members of the UN and ROK forces stepped unaided from Korean and Chinese ambulances. . . . From American ambulances, ghosts of men staggered. . . . Their haggard, sweating faces wore the stamp of privation. They looked as if they had gone through hell. Wearing only shirts and trousers, they shivered in the biting wind. . . . Chinese PWs, who arrived in Kaesong in the afternoon, resembled repatriates from Nazi concentration camps."

Mlada Fronta (Prague), April 22, claimed that the American Government had postponed the exchange as long as it could because it does not know what to do "with its Communist-saturated PWs." The newspaper also declared that the US War Department intimidates sick and wounded prisoners in order to prevent them from "telling the truth about Korea." And on April 28, *Rude Pravo* complained that the US had not filled its promised quota of repatriated PWs, and that some prisoners had been declared mentally ill simply because they had chanted: "I want to go home. Let me out of here."

Eulogies of the Soviet Union and "Kremlin peace propaganda" were featured in Hungarian celebrations of the eighth anniversary of Liberation Day on April 3. Deputy Prime Minister Arpad Hazi set the tone of the ceremonies in a speech at the State Opera House. Hazi called Stalin the "greatest man of our time" and declared that he is not only the most outstanding figure in Soviet history but also in Hungarian history. "Whenever we speak of liberation," Hazi said, "we think of Stalin." Hazi also paid tribute to the Hungarian Communist Party and Prime Minister Matyas Rakosi for "making good use of the freedom" allegedly given the Hungarian people by the USSR. The Minister then discussed the importance of vigilance and the "peace movement." As quoted by *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), April 4, he said:

"Our people bitterly hate the imperialists and their Hungarian agents—right-wing Social Democrats, clerical reactionaries and the Zionists. Last year's experiences . . . convinced the Hungarian people of the need to intensify the spirit of revolutionary vigilance. . . . We know that the enemies of peace are engaged in preparations for a third World War. We know that one

of the most dangerous warmongers is at our southern frontiers. We must not forget for a moment that a peaceful atmosphere is the first condition for our further development and the achievement of our great aims."

On April 4 there was a military parade in Budapest. Only those with special permits could attend. According to *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), April 5, "20,000 people who [were outstanding workers] during Liberation Week were in front of the houses facing Stalin square." Minister of Defense Mihaly Farkas addressed Army units in a manner similar to that of Hazi. Farkas praised Stalin, and declared that the Hungarian people will advance with even greater determination on the road of Stalinism under the Communist Party's leadership. Farkas also emphasized the unity of the "peace camp" and declared: "Members, officers and leaders of our People's Army are aware of the international situation and are constantly striving to increase their own military knowledge, strengthen the discipline of our People's Army, and deepen the alliance between our working people and the Army."

Lithuanian Reorganization

The reorganization of the Lithuanian Communist Government was announced by Radio Vilnius on April 27. According to the report, the number of ministries and cabinet-level agencies was reduced from 26 to 17 in ac-

cordance with the Soviet pattern established after Stalin's death. Although a number of ministers lost their posts because of these changes, there was no indication of a large-scale political purge.

Under the new system, the Ministry of State Security has been merged with the Ministry of Interior. Former Minister of Security, Piotr Kondakov, was appointed the "Beria" of Lithuania. Juozas Bartasiunas, Minister of Interior since 1944, did not receive a new post. Similarly, as a result of the incorporation of the Ministry of Sovkhozes and the Ministry of Forestry into the Ministry of Agriculture, former Ministers, Dimitry Mamayev and A. Matulionis also lost their posts. The Ministry of Cinematography was likewise incorporated into a new Ministry of Culture, headed by Antanas Guzevicius, the first head of the Lithuanian Communist MVD (1940-41). Michalina Meskauskiene lost her post as head of the Ministry of Cinematography.

The Ministries for Light Industry, the Food Industry, the Meat and Milk Industry and the Fish Industry were merged into a Ministry of Light and Food Industry, headed by S. Filipavicius, a 40-year-old Lithuanian Communist and a member of the Party's Central Committee until last November. The former Ministers—Feodor Tierioshin, Kazys Andriatis, Ksaveras and E. Bilevicius-Sarin, respectively—lost their posts.

The Financial Fix

I. BUDGETS FOR 1953

Since the introduction of Communist-style economic planning in the captive countries of eastern Europe, annual State budgets have lost most of their character as fiscal blueprints and have instead become mere addenda to the yearly economic Plans.

This year the budgets were not approved until quite late and in some cases no provisory budgets were passed to fill the gap. The incorporation into the State budget of the total budgets of such organizations as the national insurance system has allowed Satellite regimes to take over huge reserve funds formerly used by the insurance system to finance operations. (In the past only their surplus or deficit was included.) Inflationary trends exist in every country, but are most marked in Poland, Romania and Albania, where it has been found necessary to increase the amount of money in circulation and to float loans in order to meet budgetary requirements.

Poland

The Polish Parliament approved the 1953 Budget on April 28, though the Polish fiscal year begins on January 1. In 1952 the budget was voted on March 1, but a provisory budget for the first quarter of the year was passed on December 29, 1951. This year the budget was delayed much longer and no provisory budget was presented for the first quarter.

Tadeusz Dietrich, the Minister of Finance, presented the major breakdown of the budget as follows:

	(millions of zlotys)
Total revenue	101,069.5
Total expenditure	97,125.8
Surplus	3,944.7

These figures differ from those of the Parliamentary Budget Commission as presented by Oskar Lange:

(millions of zlotys)

Total revenue	101,069.5
Total expenditure	97,017.8
Surplus	4,051.7

This discrepancy was not explained. Figures given below are the ones presented by Dietrich.

Revenue

"Of the total revenue for 1953, more than 87 billion zlotys come from the socialized economy which, under such sections as Turnover tax (from operations which do not involve goods), Profits, Income from Social Security contributions, etc., accounts for 86 percent of total State revenue. The remainder is derived from taxes on non-socialized economy [6.8 billion or 6.7 percent of total revenue] and from direct monetary contributions made by the people, which amount to 3.2 billion zlotys or 3.2 percent of total revenue."

These figures add up to 97 billion zlotys—95.9 percent of total revenue. Dietrich did not explain where the remaining 4.1 billion were to come from. It may be assumed that this difference represents the revenue of so-called "local budgets." But as Dietrich spoke in terms of "State revenue", which consists both of central and local budgets, this may not be the case. A fuller explanation will have to wait until the budgetary law is published in the official *Journal of Laws*.

The Minister of Finance stressed the fact that "the main source of revenue is profit from socialist enterprises." He also mentioned that the land tax has been increased (the third such increase since 1951) and that revenue from the non-socialized sector "is an effective weapon in curbing the income of capitalist elements in the country," another indication of the Communist policy of using discriminatory taxation as a means of eliminating individual elements in agriculture and remnants of private enterprise in trade and industry.

Revenue for 1953 compares with that for 1952 as follows (in millions of *zlotys*):

	1952	1953	Increase
1. Socialized economy ..	44,800 (70.3%)	87,000 (86%)	42,200 (77.1%) ¹
2. Private economy and taxation on popula- tion	7,898 (12.4%)	10,000 (9.9%) ²	42,102 (26.6%)
3. Social security	7,011 (11.0%)	(included under Socialized economy)	
4. Loans and deposits ..	1,141 (1.7%)	(not given)	
5. Other income	2,938 (4.6%)	(included under Socialized economy)	
(Given) Total ...	63,788 (100%)	101,069 (58.5%)	37,281

1. This figure included items 3 and 5 for both budgets. In order to get comparative figures, items 1, 3 and 5 must be added for the 1952 budget.

2. This item is broken down into taxation of private economy (6.8 billion) and direct contributions of the population (3.2 billion).

Expenditure

Dietrich's remarks on expenditures were general. He listed industrial establishments to be financed from the budget with priority given to foundries, power plants, machine tool factories and chemical plants. The exact amounts allocated were not given.

Concerning agriculture and forestry he stated that "investments, expressed in comparable figures, exceed those for 1952 by 30 percent." These investments show the following increases over 1952:

State farms	29.2%
State Machinery Centers	34.4%
Reforestation, soil conservation, etc.	47.4%
Mechanization and rural electrification	16.6%
Productive cooperatives (<i>kolkhozes</i>)	61.2%

Social and cultural expenditures were outlined in some detail and broken down into the following allocations (in millions of *zlotys*):

Education	
(primary and secondary)	4,111.1
Vocational schools	2,413.3
Science and higher education	2,334.3
Culture and art	968.6
Health and physical culture	4,829.4
Social security	8,373.0
Social welfare	511.4
Total	23,541.1

In discussing national defense, the Minister remarked that expenditure "... is to be kept at the same level as in 1952. It represents 10.8 percent of the total budget. This testifies to the extremely peaceful character of our policy and budget." He declared further that such "imperialistic" states as the United States, England and

France had devoted 74 percent, 37 percent, and 50 percent of their budgets respectively to military expenditures. The comparison is fictitious, since the Polish budget lists expenditures for current operating expenses of the armed forces only. Defense industry, heavy industry producing raw materials for defense, research in new weapons, etc. are listed under "Socialized economy."

Comparative Expenditure

A comparison between expenditures for 1952 and 1953 presents the following picture (in round millions of *zlotys*):

	1952	1953	Increase
Socialized economy (Investment and operating costs)	26,559 (42.2%)	49,432 (50.9%)	22,873 (86.1%)
Social and Cultural	16,228 (25.8%)	23,541 (24.2%)	7,311 (45.0%)
National defense	6,624 (10.5%)	10,540 (10.8%)	3,916 (59.1%)
Administration	4,584 (7.3%)	5,978 (6.2%)	1,394 (30.4%)
Justice and internal security	2,748 (4.4%)	3,907 (4.0%)	1,159 (42.2%)
National debt	656 (1.0%)	570 (0.6%)	-86 (-13.1%)
Budgetary reserves	5,505 (8.8%)	3,157 (3.3%)	-2,348 (-42.7%)
Total	62,904 (100%)	97,125 (100%)	34,219 (54.4%)

It appears that the budget for 1953, expressed in absolute figures, is much greater than that for 1952, but according to Dietrich:

"The 1953 expenditure cannot be compared with that for 1952 due to the results of the governmental decree of January 3, 1953 [A wage-price decree which further decreased real wages by an estimated 60 percent. In this decree, the regime raised wages an average 24.5 percent while consumer prices increased an average 85 percent. See March 1953 issue, page 31.] To relate both budgets to a common denominator is a very difficult task, but the following percentage increases for expenditure have been estimated:

- Socialized economy—about 11 percent
- Social and cultural—about 6 percent
- Administration—the same level as in 1952

"The overall increase of expenditures corresponds to the planned rate of increase for the national income."

The following conclusions may be drawn from this statement.

1. Adding 11 percent to the 1952 budget expenditure for socialized economy brings the figure for 1953 to 29,480 million *zlotys*, an amount evidently equivalent in value to the 49,432 million provided for in the budget. From these figures it would appear that the value of the *zloty* has decreased 40.4 percent, at least as far as socialized economy is concerned.

2. Applying the same method, it can be estimated that 23,541 million *zlotys* earmarked for social and cultural expenditures are equivalent to 17,201 million and that the value of the *zloty* has decreased 27 percent.

3. As administrative expenditures (in the budget, Justice and Internal security are included under this heading) are the same as in 1952, the value of one *zloty* in this sector must have decreased by 25.8 percent.

4. "The planned rate of increase for the national income" is not yet known, but taking the rate for last year (17 percent) as a basis, it can be concluded that the comparative increase in total expenditures is not 34,220 million *zlotys* as shown, but about 10,500 million. This means a decrease of 24.3 percent in the *zloty's* value.

From these various devaluations of the *zloty*, it can be ascertained that a hidden inflation has taken place in Poland, affecting the various branches of the national economy in different ways. However, the devaluation of the *zloty* in State expenditure is not nearly so great as it is for the people. Following the Decree of January 3 (see above), the buying power of the *zloty* has decreased by more than one-half as far as the public is concerned.

It should also be pointed out that Dietrich at least partially admitted that inflation has occurred when he stated that, "The budget provides for an increase of money in circulation of 2.9 billion *zlotys*. This represents only part of the actual increase, since the remainder is accounted for by the clearing of bills through banks."

During the same session of the Parliament as that in which the 1953 budget was approved, the vice-speaker, Jozef Ozga Michalski, presented a report on the fulfillment of the 1951 budget.

"As regards budgetary income, revenue obtained was 17.4 percent higher than provided for in the budget, and expenditure 8 percent lower. The planned surplus was 2,436.1 million *zlotys*, and the surplus actually achieved amounted to 16,764.5 million *zlotys*."

According to prewar practice, this surplus should have been transferred to the revenue section of the budget for the following year. However, this was not done and no such amount appeared in either the 1952 or 1953 budgets. (The surplus shown for 1952 was 883 million *zlotys* and for 1953 was 3,944 million. In both cases it was derived from the difference between revenue and expenditure for the previous year.) The missing 16,764.5 million *zlotys*, plus subsequent surpluses, seem to indicate the existence of a secret budget. Probably these funds are being spent to finance Communist activities abroad and to supplement military expenditures. During the so-called "debate" on the budget, not one of the Communist deputies bothered to ask how these surpluses were disposed of or why they did not appear in the current budget.

Czechoslovakia

The Czechoslovak National Assembly approved the 1953 Budget as late as April 23, although the fiscal year ends on January 1. The four-month delay is partly accounted

for by Gottwald's death and subsequent changes in the administration. But the principle reason, inherent in the Communist concept of planned economy, is postponement of budget preparations until after the economic plan for each year has been worked out. The budgets which follow merely legalize methods of providing for expenditures already determined by the plan.

Rude Pravo (Prague), April 24, reported on the major chapters of the budget expressed in millions of *koruny* (1 *koruna* equals 2 cents):

Chapter	Revenue	Expenditure
State economy*	331,178	254,506
Culture and social welfare	53,758	111,092
National security (Armed forces and police)	5,571	41,843
Direct taxes	35,943	—
Administration	8,757	18,764
National debt	—	4,705
Total	435,207	430,910
Surplus		4,297

In comparison to the 1952 total, revenue has increased by 34.2 percent and expenditure by 33.1 percent, thus giving an impression that the State has undertaken much greater activity on behalf of its citizens. However, of the proclaimed increase, only 31,100 million *koruny* comprise the actual increase: the remaining 79,800 million coming from the inclusion of the total budgets of national insurance and similar organizations. Previously, only the surplus or deficit of these organizations was included. The incorporation of national insurance expenditures and revenue further indicates that the State has absorbed the large separate reserve funds formerly maintained by the national insurance system.

The bulk of the revenue (91.7 percent) comes from the turnover tax and, to a much smaller degree, from the profits of State-operated enterprises. National and communal enterprises give two-thirds of their profits to the State and retain one-third for investment and operational funds.

Out of total expenditure, 254.5 billion *koruny* (59.1 percent) are earmarked for economic development. Only 3.5 billion of that amount are budgeted for improvement of agricultural production. Even so, credit available to agricultural cooperatives has been increased 50 per cent.

In its chapters concerning national economy, the budget particularly enforces provisions of the Economic Plan with an eye to last year's shortcomings. State enterprises are required to cut costs by 13 percent, industrial plants will get no funds to cover the cost of rejects, the Investment Bank will refuse to supply funds for inadequately documented projects, etc.

Of the 111 billion budgeted for culture and social welfare, 33.9 billion go to education and "public enlightenment," 52.4 billion to social welfare and 24.8 billion to public health. Thus every citizen will receive benefits from

* State, national and communal enterprises

these four chapters of the budget amounting to 8,812; 2,692; 4,159; and 1,961 *koruny* respectively. National insurance is included under "Social welfare" with an allotment of 45 billion *koruny* of which 7,614 million are budgeted for health insurance benefits, 6,677 million for family allowances and about 30 billion for 1,858,700 beneficiaries of Social Security and pensions. Undisclosed amounts are allotted to union recreation schemes in which 340,000 workers will participate this summer.

The preparation of this year's budget differs somewhat from established practice. As described in *Ekonomie a Finance* (Prague), No. 8, October 1952, the Ministry of Finance issued directives to all Ministries and Regional National Committees in accordance with which budgetary requirements were drawn up and submitted to the cabinet which, in turn, coordinated them with the economic plan. Details were then worked out, "discussed with the workers," and unanimously approved by the National Assembly.

According to *Finance a uver* (Prague), January 1953, the two most important shortcomings to be eliminated from the budget are "automatism" and "formalism." Up to now, budgetary units drew on their annual funds automatically and any quarterly limits were mere formalities, additional funds being readily available. As operations were not subject to efficiency checks before further withdrawals were authorized, and hidden reserves and *virements* (fund shifts) were common, the organizations concerned were under no financial pressure and evaded control.

Quarterly limits have been established this year and strict adherence to them is supposed to guarantee harmony and ensure delivery dates. Efficiency checks are to be introduced and appropriated funds will not be made available without the approval of the Ministry of Finance.

Romania

On January 24, the new Minister of Finance, D. Petrescu, gave his report on the budgets for 1951 and 1952 and presented the Draft Budget for 1953. Converted into new "stabilized" *lei*, the evolution of the budget over the last three years presents the following picture (in millions of *lei*):

	Revenue	Expenditure	Surplus
1951 (definitive results) .	24,589.4	21,706.9	2,882.5
1952 (provisional results) .	34,178.2	31,128.1	3,050.1
1953 (estimated)	38,510.0	37,510.0	1,000.0

The increase in revenue between 1951 and 1952 appears to be nearly one-third, but is actually much less. The 1952 revenue includes a surplus from the previous year of 2,882.5 million *lei*, thus reducing the actual revenue for that year to 31,295.7 million *lei*. The difference of 6,706.3 million *lei*—as compared with 1951—is divided into 2,393.9 million *lei* derived from expropriations occasioned by the monetary "reform" of January 1952 (see March 1952 issue, page 20) and 1,000.0 million *lei* obtained from subsequent gains resulting from price manipulation and "Socialist competitions." The remaining 3,312.4, while it appears to be a genuine increase, is in fact due to the

inclusion in the general State Budget of revenue hitherto entered into other books.

It should be emphasized that, following the monetary "reform," the government introduced revisions in the budget which definitively modelled it on the Soviet Union's. In other words, it became a financial plan intended to implement the Economic Plan. Prior to these revisions, some funds were allowed to remain in the hands of State enterprises and organizations for the purpose of financing investments and for supplying necessary working capital. The same was true for some local economic projects as well as for the "Socialist sector" of agriculture. From that point on, however, these scattered funds were all concentrated in the State budget. This new policy has three advantages: (1) It helps to place all available funds in the hands of a central authority which can then establish priorities based upon pressures arising from the Economic Plan, rearmament demands and foreign trade obligations (primarily with the USSR); (2) provides the government with additional means of controlling State enterprises and the (insignificant) private sector, and of compelling them to greater efforts; (3) provides the government with additional means to check self-generating inflationary trends.

Estimated 1953 revenue amounts to 38,510.0 million *lei*, of which 3,050.1 million is the surplus from 1952. The remaining 35,459.9 million *lei*, when compared to the provisional 1952 revenue (34,178.2), shows an increase of only 1,281.7 million *lei* for 1953. This figure is extremely important because it reveals that the revenue for 1953 rose by less than four percent compared with last year, in spite of increased taxes and taxable incomes. This would seem to mean either very slow economic progress or an expansion of the non-taxable area. The latter includes various Soviet interests and investments in Romania (which are treated as non-taxable extra-territorial properties) as well as the Soviet share of the production and profits of the thirteen Sovroms (joint Soviet—Romanian enterprises. See February 1952 issue, page 26 ff.).

Expenditures are divided into the following allocations (in millions of *lei*):

Financing national economy . . .	13,856.5	37.9%
Financing State enterprises	2,987.9	7.4%
Financing local industry and agriculture (including Machine Tractor Stations)	1,694.3	4.4%
Social and cultural needs	5,372.5	14.0%
State and local administration	1,463.8	3.7%
Military expenditure	6,766.4	18.0%
Estimated surplus	1,000.0	1.5%
Unaccounted for	4,368.6	13.1%
	37,510.0	100.0%

The fact that as much as 13.1 percent of estimated expenditures is unaccounted for gives the above statistics an extremely implausible character, and perhaps renders them meaningless. For the 4,368.6 million *lei* involved may very well serve to augment military expenditures. An additional 318.6 million *lei* included in "Social and cultural

CHART A STATE REVENUES
(in percentage, according to source)

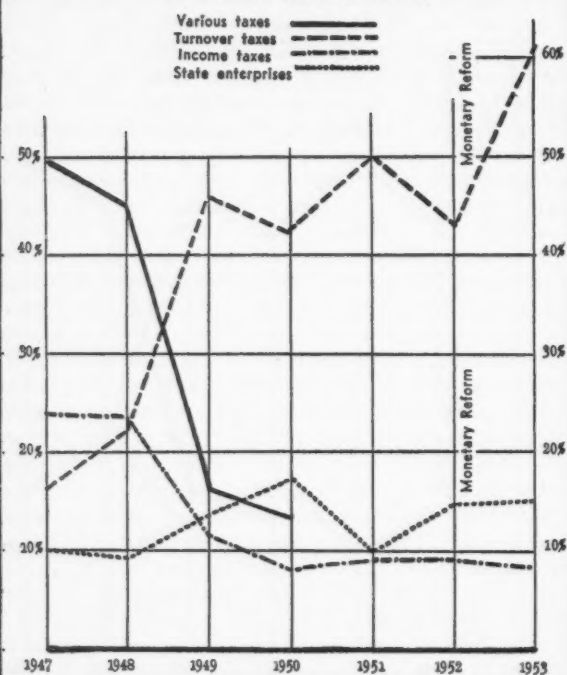


CHART B STATE EXPENDITURE
(Percentage)

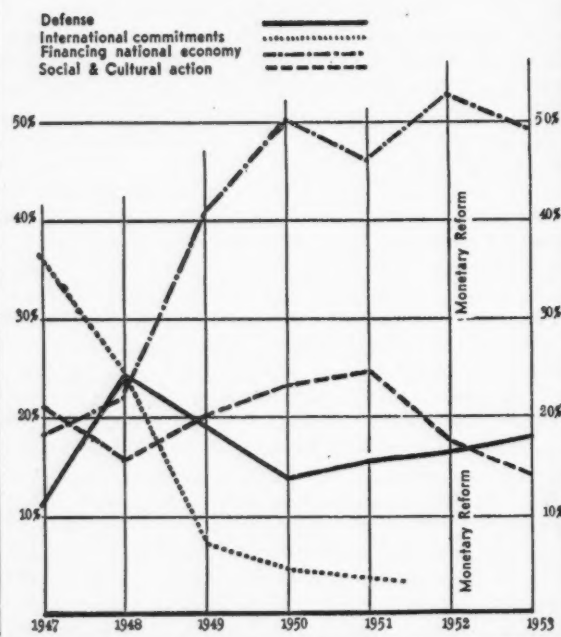


CHART C STATE REVENUES
(in billions of old lei;
in billions of new lei in 1952 & 1953)

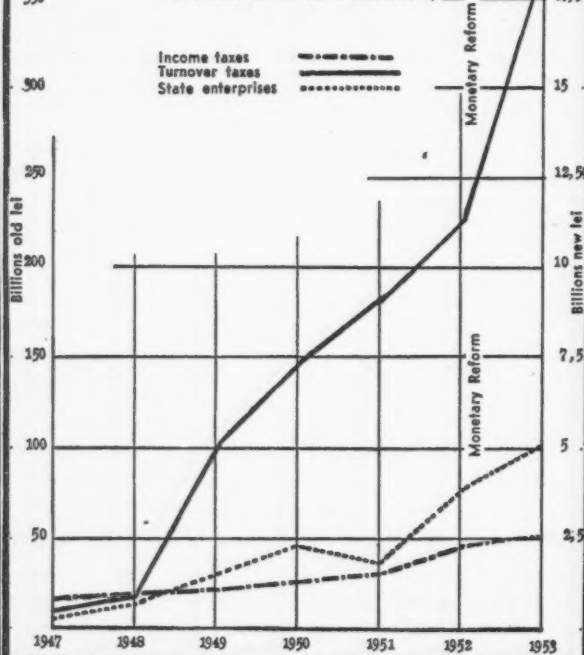
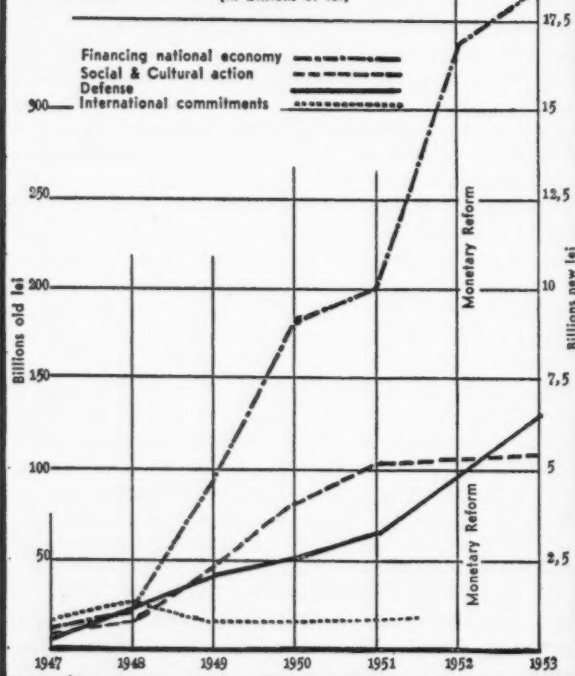


CHART D STATE EXPENDITURE
(in billions of lei)



expenditures" are also unaccounted for, bringing the total amount of such funds to 4,687.2 million or almost 11 percent of total budgetary expenditure.

Bulgaria

On February 10, *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia) published the 1953 Budget. Unanimously approved the day before by the Bulgarian National Assembly, this reads in part:

"Art. 1: The unified budget [consisting of both State and Local People's Councils' budgets] of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is approved as follows:

Revenue (including Social Security Funds and pensions)	19,021 million leva
Expenditures (including Social Security Fund and pensions)	17,973 million leva
Surplus of Revenue over Expenditure	1,000 million leva

"The surplus of 48 million *leva*, derived from the budgets of the Local People's Councils, will be transferred to next year's budget as of January 1, 1954.

Romanian Budget: 1947-1953

Graphs A and C reveal that the only source of revenue to show a major increase since 1947 is the turnover tax (a tax on gross volume of sales. See April 1953 issue, page 15).

The income tax curve has shown almost no increase since the introduction of planned economy. This may appear contradictory to claims that employment (and consequently the number of taxable incomes) in both national economy and State administration has risen spectacularly during the past five years, but real incomes have been depleted by other means, such as price juggling, "voluntary contributions" and the above-mentioned turnover tax.

Revenue derived from the profits of State enterprises is also comparatively low. This is another contradiction of official claims that production has doubled in the last six years, and an indication of uneconomical methods and extremely high production costs.

Graphs B and D, which deal with expenditures, show an increase in projected expenditures of approximately 10 percent and emphasize the relationship between the turnover tax and the amount of money needed to finance the activities of State enterprises. This relationship proves that additional funds must be supplied by the State to compensate for the high costs of production. It should be pointed out, however, that these "financing funds" must compensate not only for uneconomical production, but in large part for price differences resulting from trade with and reparation payments to the USSR. This also accounts for the modest curve shown for international obligations (suspended since 1951), as such obligations are buried in other sections of the budget.

"Art. 2: In accordance with Art. 1, the State Budget for 1953 is approved as follows:

Revenue	16,623 million <i>leva</i>
Expenditures	15,623 million <i>leva</i>
Surplus of Revenue over Expenditures	1,000 million <i>leva</i>

The Minister of Finance did not explain certain aspects of the 1952 and 1953 budgets in his speech before the National Assembly on February 1. Nor did he give as complete or detailed information as he has done in the past. However, the following comparative data were given for 1952 and 1953 (in millions of *leva*):

	1952	1953
Revenue	15,826	19,021
Turnover tax	7,831	9,745
Discounts from profits	2,383	3,386
Surplus of working capital	410	—
Income tax	1,154	1,250
State loan (1952)	154	340
Unidentified revenue	3,894	4,300

The revenue from income taxes has increased 96 million *leva*, but its share in the budget has been reduced from 7.3 to 6.6 percent owing to the increase in total revenue.

	1952	1953
Expenditures	14,880	17,973
National economy and social-cultural projects	10,830	13,982
Financing national economy	7,232	10,500
Social-cultural projects	3,100	3,482
National defense	1,600	2,076

While expenditures for national economy and social-cultural projects have risen 2.7 percent and comprise 77.8 of the present budget, national defense figures (which were given separately and may also be contained in national economy expenditures) remain at 11.6 percent.

Government allotments for the various Ministries are (in millions of *leva*):

	1952	1953
Ministry of Education	685	813
Ministry of Public Health	914	1,024
Ministry of Construction and Communal Economy	414	502
Ministry of Agriculture	—	1,012

Both the Ministries of Education and Public Health are included in expenditures for social-cultural projects, while the others are listed under financing of the national economy. Additional investments listed under the latter are:

	1952	1953
(in millions of <i>leva</i>)		
Heavy industry	—	1,100
Rural economy	1,000	1,185
Electrification	530	—
Building and road construction	748	—

The Minister of Finance did not include information on "administrative expenses", as he did in 1952 (see May 1952 issue, p. 16), nor any explanation as to how the remaining 10.6 percent of expenditures is to be used.

The Bulgarian budget and National Defense expenditures have increased steadily since 1949. A comparative chart computed in millions of new *leva* (the ratio of old *leva* to new is 100:4) shows the following increases.

Total Budget				
Year	Revenue	Expenditures	(Increase)	National Defense Expenditures
1949	6,800	6,000	—	500 (10.6%)
1950	9,200	8,000	2,000	517 (7.0%)
1951	12,000	10,700	2,700	824 (7.7%)
1952	14,800	13,700	3,746	1,600 (13.6%)
1953	19,021	17,973	3,093	2,076 (13.3%)

(National defense percentages are given as 11.6% under the Unified Budget, but they are actually part of the State Budget.)

With a population of 7,200,000, the expected revenue of 19 billion *leva* represents a financial burden of 2,641 *leva* per capita in direct and/or indirect taxes. The average yearly income of a worker is 5,000 *leva*, and in order to carry this burden a family of four with two wage-earners and a yearly income of 10,000 *leva*, would have to pay 10,564 *leva* to the government. However, the present budget, like those which preceded it, is concocted of unreal figures and a large part of projected expenditures is covered by loans from the Bulgarian National Bank and an inflated currency.

Hungary

The Hungarian budget for 1953 was approved by Parliament in mid-December 1952 and compares with the 1952 budget as follows:

	1952	1953
	(in millions of forints)	
Revenue (including deductions for Social Security and pensions) ..	42,769	52,739
Expenditures ..	42,480	51,864
Surplus ..	289	875
Sources of Revenue		
Socialist sector (92 percent)	37,252	47,200
	(87.1%)	
"Private" sector (8 percent)	5,517	4,219
	(12.9%)	
Turnover taxes, profits, and contributions	—	40,152
		(76.1%)
Total derived from State enterprises	—	36,500
Turnover taxes from State enterprises	—	27,690
		(52.5%)
Profits from State enterprises ..	4,900	8,859
Cooperatives	502	936
Direct taxes on population	4,297	4,220

Peace loans	900	1,781
Reduction of working capital ..	—	1,000

Expenditures

Total spent on people's economy	26,126	31,721
	(61.5%)	(61.2%)
Total investments	15,300	19,019
	(40% in heavy industry)	(37.0%)

Investment breakdown

Total in coal mines	—	1,200
Komlo coal mine	—	500
Mineral oil wells	—	499
Nonferrous metal industry	—	344
Budapest subway	—	550
Agricultural development	2,863	2,700
General health and social services (including Social Security)	5,006	5,907
Vacationing	90.4	120
Mother and child care	130	204
Building of grammar schools ...	—	48
high schools	—	25.3
trade schools and student homes	—	436.4
Rural electrification	—	24
Total cultural investment	101	131
Total spent on armed forces ..	5,905	7,381
	(14%)	(14.2%)
Administrative expenses	2,166.5	2,004
	(5.1%)	(3.8%)
Peace Loan payments through drawings	—	477
Reserve fund	960	97.5

During the past four years budgetary revenue and expenditures have been balanced and the following increases have occurred:

	(billions of forints)
1950	20.0
1951	29.5
1952	42.6
1953	52.7

The total population of Hungary at present is about nine and a half million. Thus the per capita assessment amounts to 5,551 *forints* per year: 434 dollars at the official rate of exchange, and 139 dollars at the black market rate (40 *forints* to the dollar). Under present conditions this indicates an extremely heavy burden on the individual.

Albania

Zeri i Popullit (Tirana), March 30, published the text of the Albanian budget as presented by Vice-Premier Gogo Nushi:

"The draft Budget for 1953, which I now present to you, provides for financing of all Plan requirements. It has been considerably increased and shows a surplus of about 100,000,000 *leks*. It has become the custom in our Republic to submit a supplementary budget and to complete it with a surplus. . . . Our budgets, like those

of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, cannot have deficits, for these are characteristic of capitalist countries. Thus, revenue for 1953, amounting to 11,350,000,000 *leks*, shows an increase of 20 percent over last year. . . ."

In discussing the "Socialist sector," the Vice-Premier declared:

"The 1953 Budget takes into consideration the fact that 55 percent of State revenue will come from the socialist sector . . . a 24 percent increase over last year However, this year more money has been appropriated for enterprises in order to fulfill increased demands. These additional needs are due to an extension of production plans and a further decrease in production costs. . . . The successful fulfillment of the revenue plan in the socialist sector requires that shortcomings, which still exist in some Ministries and in many of our enterprises, be eradicated. . . ."

Regarding industrial and agricultural expansion, Nushi went on to speak of Soviet aid in various branches of the economy and gave details on specific appropriations:

"The Budget provides for a total expenditure of 11,250,000,000 *leks*—17 percent greater than last year . . . 5,437,103,000 *leks* will be spent on the people's economy—43 percent more than last year. Apart from this colossal sum, hundreds of millions of *leks* will be invested . . . these funds will be obtained from the enterprises themselves. 230,000,000 *leks* will be derived from profits and 245,000,000 *leks* from amortization. These huge sums, which will be spent on improving and developing the people's economy, represent about 49 percent of the Budget. . . ."

"The investment plan . . . also calls for the construction of the Enver Power Station at a cost of 413,450,000 *leks*; a naphtha refinery at a cost of 399,300,000 *leks*; and a cement factory at a cost of 194,900,000 *leks*; while hundreds of thousands more will be spent on mining, communications and building. No less than 325,478,000 *leks* will be spent on improving major projects such as the Myzeqe canal (77,210,000 *leks*) the Vjose-Levan canal (60,000,000 *leks*), the Korce canal (35,000,000 *leks*), and on the completion of the Peqin-Kavaje canal (40,000,000 *leks*). Priority will be given to the agricultural sector. . . . In addition, several million *leks* will be invested in new tractors for machine tractor stations and an agrarian credit of 187,000,000 *leks* will be advanced to supply the peasants with agricultural implements, draft animals, chemical fertilizers and so on. This amount will be 239 percent greater than last year's figure."

Other expenditures published in various newspapers include:

(in millions of *leks*)

Social and Cultural fields	2,400.0
National defense	1,125.0
Local budgets	1,834.5

A comparison between the budgets for the last four years presents the following picture (in millions of *leks*):

Year	Revenue	Expenditure	Surplus
1950	8,477.5	6,470.4	2,007.1
1951	9,500.0	9,100.0	400.0
(fulfilled: 9,453.6)		(fulfilled: 9,019.6)	
1952	10,300.0	10,200.0	100.0
(fulfilled: 9,436.5)		(fulfilled: 9,384.0)	
1953	11,350.0	11,250.0	100.0

In the 1952 budget, 53 percent of the revenue was derived from the "Socialist sector." In the 1953 budget, 10 percent of the revenue comes from direct taxation of the people and the rest almost entirely from the "Socialist sector."

II. ESTONIAN KOLKHOZ WORK PLAN

The spring work plan for an Estonian kolkhoz was outlined in an article which appeared in *Rahva Haal* (Tallinn) on April 6, 1952. The kolkhoz referred to is in the Harju region and is called Michurin. It was "formed in December 1950 by uniting four small kolkhozes with a combined area of 2,600 hectares, 618 of which are arable land . . ."

While production plans for 1952 were being prepared, "it became evident . . . that the two existing agricultural brigades (one with 23, the other with 17 members) were too small, and the management decided to combine them and to increase their membership to 60. . . . Of the 139 workhorses belonging to the kolkhoz, 100 were assigned to the agricultural brigade along with 48 plows, 12 seed drills, 19 cultivators and four potato planters."

Just how representative the Michurin kolkhoz is is not known, but it appears to be somewhat exceptional, with an above-average truck garden production. In the past, 50 percent of the arable land was planted with spring crops and the other half sown with winter cereals, grass (in rotation), or left fallow. The 1952 plan provided for a spring planting of 410 hectares or 66 percent of the arable land—the 16 percent difference to consist of truck garden and silage crops. From its location, it can be assumed that this particular kolkhoz includes some specialized truck gardens and orchards in the vicinity of the city of Tallinn.

No allowance for Sundays and holidays appears to be in the plan. Even the Soviet Labor Day (May 1st) is scheduled as a full work-day. Evidently there are good reasons for this "innovation". Only 60 hectares were plowed in the fall, and the plan stipulates that 300 additional hectares must be plowed in the spring (the 50 hectares unaccounted for, probably the responsibility of the local machine tractor station, constitutes only one-eighth of the land to be plowed). Normally, all plowing in preparation for spring planting is done in the fall. The spring season is the work peak for draft animals, and difficult enough without the additional job of plowing. Moreover, plowing in the spring often spoils soil tillage for several years, especially where heavy soils are involved.

Another important feature of the plan is the extremely high production norms indicated for most operations. Spring rains often make field work, particularly soil cultivation, impossible. However, no allowance appears to

Spring Sowing Work Plan for an Agricultural Brigade

Description of Work	Quantity	Approximate Dates	Number of Work-Days	Daily Goal And Work-Norm Per Person	Daily Needs		
					Workers	Horses	Implements
April							
1. Top-dressing of winter cereals (carting 1 km. and spreading)	700 tons	15 to 19	5	140/10	14	14	14 wagons
2. Hauling manure to hayland and pastures . . .	250 tons	15 to 19	5	50/10	5	5	5 wagons
3. Prep. of seeds for treatment with fungicides . . .	30 tons	— —	—	—	3	—	—
4. Prod. of granulated fertilizers	20 tons	15 to 19	5	4/1.5	3	2	—
5. Prep. of fertilizers	50 tons	15 to 19	5	10/2	5	2	—
6. Top-dressing of hayland and pastures	100 ha.	15 to 19	5	20/2	10	10	10 wagons
7. Spring (top) harrowing of winter cereals . . .	125 ha.	20 to 23	3	42/4.5	10	20	10 harrows
8. Harrowing of fall-plowed land	60 ha.	21 to 23	2	30/4.5	7	14	7 harrows
9. Spring plowing (exchange of draft animals) . . .	160 ha.	24 to 30	8	20/1	20	80	20 plows
10. Harrowing of spring-plowed land (twice) . . .	320 ha.	24 to 30	8	40/4.5	9	18	9 harrows
11. Planting of cereals	100 ha.	25 to 30	6	17/4.5	4	8	4 drills
12. Hauling seeds to drills	40 tons	25 to 30	6	7/3.5	2	2	—
13. Cultivating fall-plowed land	60 ha.	25 to 28	4	15/4	4	8	4 cultivators
14. Hauling of fertilizer	68 tons	20 to 22	3	23/4	6	6	6 wagons
15. Spreading of fertilizer	68 tons	20 to 22	3	23/4	6	—	—
16. Prep. of fert. for spreading	50 tons	20 to 22	3	17/2	8	—	—
17. Top-dressing of hayland	110 ha.	20 to 30	10	11/2	5	5	5 wagons
18. Top-dressing of hayland and pasture with barnyard manure	1,100 tons	20 to 30	10	110/8	13	13	13 wagons
May							
19. Spreading of barnyard manure on potato fields	800 tons	1 to 5	5	160/8	20	20	20 wagons
20. Spring plowing	140 ha.	1 to 7	7	20/1	20	80	20 plows
21. Harrowing of spring planting (twice)	280 ha.	1 to 7	7	40/4.5	9	18	9 harrows
22. Planting of cereals	23 ha.	1 to 3	2.5	9/4.5	2	4	2 drills
23. Seeding annual hay crops	100 ha.	6 to 10	4	25/4.5	5	10	5 drills
24. Planting silage crops	45 ha.	9 to 10	2	22.5/4.5	5	10	5 drills
25. Seeding perennial grasses	34 ha.	11 to 15	4	8.5/4.5	2	4	2 drills
26. Planting root-crops	16 ha.	11 to 14	3	5	1	2	1 drill
27. Drawing potato seed furrows	82 ha.	11 to 20	10	8.2/1	8	16	8 listers
28. Prep. of potato seed	287 tons	11 to 20	10	28.7/1	28	—	—
29. Carting potato seed	287 tons	11 to 20	10	28.7/4	7	7	7 wagons
30. Planting potatoes	82 ha.	11 to 20	10	8.2/0.35	24	—	—
31. Spreading manure in furrows	25 tons	11 to 20	10	2.5	3	6	3 wagons

have been made for climatic conditions. Planned production norms for harrowing, the spreading of fertilizers, and hauling and spreading manure are about double the 1940 average. No mechanization of these operations is shown, and it is difficult to believe that labor efficiency has increased so radically.

It should also be noted that a considerable amount of manure is allotted for use on hay and pasture land. Since climatic conditions require that every hectare of arable land be treated with a minimum of eight tons of barnyard manure or its equivalent every year if steady productivity is to be maintained (certain crops in 7-8 year rotation, such as winter cereals, potatoes and root crops, require

24 to 32 tons per hectare every third or fourth year), such allotments suggest the eventual depletion of arable land. According to the work plan, 800 tons of manure are to be used for 82 hectares of potatoes. Before 1940, 25 tons were considered the minimum and as many as 30 to 40 tons were often used. The spreading of manure as top-dressing for winter cereals is extremely wasteful but evidently "justified" by the fact that none is used on fallow land.

The discrepancy which appears between the number of calendar days and the number of Work-Days listed in items 7, 8, 9, 10, 17, 18, 25 and 26 is probably due to the difference between a calendar day and a norm-day (based on amount of work accomplished in one day by the best

worker). The extra workers numbered between the 11th and 20th of May are teen-agers and additional women recruited for potato seeding.

Earnings Per Norm-Day

Earnings of "kolkhozniks" living on "exemplary" collective farms were fully reported in *Rahva Haal* (R.H.), *Sovetskaja Estonia* (S.E.) and Radio Tallinn (R.T.) in a series of articles and broadcasts beginning last December.

Four of the kolkhozes listed below belong to the Harju region which includes the area around Tallinn (capital of Estonia), and are better off (superior marketing opportunities, unpaid help from the city during seasonal work, first to receive supplies such as fertilizer, oil, etc.) than the others. The J. V. Stalin Kolkhoz was judged the best in its region during a recent "Socialist" competition.

There are 39 regions in Estonia and 936 kolkhozes, in most of which the pay per norm-day is only two to three rubles. Ruble earnings, even in exemplary kolkhozes, were smaller in 1952 than in 1951. For instance, the salary per norm-day in the Nougogude Armee kolkhoz was 6.73 rubles in 1951 and 4.00 rubles in 1952. The salary in the Uus Elu kolkhoz was 10.6 rubles in 1951 and only 8.00 rubles in 1952.

It should also be noted that the amount of work constituting a norm-day is continually being increased. *Rahva Haal* (Tallinn), February 11, reported: "Just work-norms are very important in increasing work-capacity and productivity. The level of production of outstanding kolkhozniks should serve as the basis for setting work-norms . . . the work-norms of the Uus Elu kolkhoz . . . have risen 1.6 times during the past three years."

III. COLLECTIVIZATION ADDENDA

While the application of Soviet agricultural techniques is further advanced in the Baltic republics than in more recently Communized countries, efforts to mechanize and consolidate collective farms are continually impeded by the location of farm properties. Although the number of collective farms is steadily being reduced and their area and personnel expanded, in most cases transfer of the equipment and workers necessary to their successful operation is not being accomplished. Housing and storage facilities remain widely scattered and the shortage of skilled workers great.

Estonia

A national conference of agricultural specialists was opened in Tallinn on April 1. On the following day, Radio Tallinn reported that the Chairman of the Council of Ministers delivered a speech in which he stressed the importance of specialists in "the development of socialist agriculture." He declared that "more than 2,000 specialists are now working in agriculture. . . . 732 agronomists [university-graduated agricultural specialists] and 236 veterinarians. . . ."

"Seventy percent of the kolkhozes are mechanized and over 600 additional tractors, 500 combines, many flax-combines, sugar-beet combines and other machines have been received from our brother republics. Four new tractor stations have been activated [bringing the total number to] 64."

He complained however that "specialists cannot get the necessary practical experience in their work," and that "special attention must be paid to work organization with particular emphasis on work discipline." The Minister of

Source	Kolkhoz and Region	Rubles	Rye kgs.	Potatoes kgs.	Hay, etc. kgs.
R.H. 12/27/52	Edasi (Antsla)	3.25	2.18	-	-
R.H. 1/17/53	Viimsi (Harju)	10.35	1.00	1	-
R.H. 1/25/53 and R.T. 3/15/53	Kalevi (Harju)	6.14	and "products"		
R.T. 1/28/53	Leninlik Tee (Turi)	4.00	and "a large quantity of products"		
R.H. 1/30/53 and R.T. 3/19/53	J. V. Stalin (Turi)	6.30	1.70	2	1
R.H. 2/10/53	Nougogude Armee (Harju)	4.00	1.80	2	0.5
R.T. 2/23/53	Kalevi (Abja)	6.85	2.05	"abundantly"	-
S.E. —	Uus Elu (Rapla)	8.00	and "products"		-
S.E. 2/17/53	Lenin (Haapsalu)	1.55	2.00	-	-
R.H. 2/25/53	Sademe (Abja)	3.50	1.50	-	0.5
S.E. 3/ 3/53	Audruranna (Parnu)	4.00	3.00	-	-
S.E. 3/31/53	Rahva Voit (Harju)	8.00	1.40	3	0.8

Agriculture warned that "preparation for spring seeding is far from satisfactory in many kolkhozes" and that "there are only a few days left in which to begin. . . ."

Further details concerning agricultural collectivization in Estonia were announced by Radio Tallinn on February 20:

"The total number of agricultural cooperatives [kolkhozes] in our republic is 936. . . . In 1952 there were 14 millionaire kolkhozes [total income over one million rubles], now there are 20. . . . Sixty-four tractor stations and one forestry service station [MMS station] are now active."

On March 29, seven MMS stations were reported active in the reclamation of swamp land. And by April 5 the number of tractor stations [MTS] had been "increased to 69."

The development of the Estonian collectivization program can be broken down into the following three major periods.

1. The period of "psychological propaganda."

	Number of kolkhozes
August 23, 1947.....	1
End of 1947.....	5
Spring 1948.....	59
Fall 1948.....	455
Spring 1949 (before March 23).....	550

2. The period of "physical propaganda." After March 1949 when mass-deportation of peasants was carried out.

	Number of kolkhozes
June 1949.....	2,950
July 1950.....	more than 3,000

3. The present period of consolidation of small kolkhozes into larger units.

	Number of kolkhozes
July 31, 1951.....	1,140
February 28, 1952.....	1,037
February 20, 1953.....	936

The average kolkhoz now consists of about 2,700 hectares and 140 to 150 families—about 300 working people. Approximately 347,000 persons are employed in agriculture in Estonia (in kolkhozes and sovkhoses). Of this number, 37 percent are on a part-time basis (youths over ten and people 70 and 80 years old).

Latvia

Although no national conference of collectives was held in Latvia, yearly meetings on the individual kolkhozes are held during the months of January and February. Party leaders take the opportunity at that time to point out deficiencies in kolkhoz economy and to recommend remedies for collective farm shortcomings. Forced collectivization in Latvia was completed in March, 1949, but the

result has not lived up to Communist expectations. Harvests have been lower than before collectivization, and in spite of a "second collectivization" last year, which combined smaller kolkhozes into larger ones, no appreciable increase in yield has been noted.

At present there are 1,513 kolkhozes in Latvia covering 98.4 percent of the land and totalling 3,590,000 hectares. In addition there are approximately 50 sovkhoses of 120,000 hectares. To service these there are some 105 machine tractor stations, but the number is insufficient. Some sore spots in collectivized agriculture were discussed in the January 27 *Cina* (Riga), official organ of the Latvian Communist Party:

"Lack of work discipline caused delay in farm work on several kolkhozes. Part of the harvest was lost. The kolkhozes suffered heavy losses, particularly where managers were incompetent. On these kolkhozes, honest workers are overburdened with heavy work in the fields and with the cattle, while timekeepers, transport workers, salesmen, buyers, warehouse supervisors and cashiers are often loafers, snatchers, and creepers. . . ."

On March 24, *Sovetskaya Latvia*, the Russian language newspaper of the Latvian Communist Party, complained about the machine tractor pools. "Serious concern is caused by lack of efficiency on machine tractor stations where repairs have not been completed. The MTS of Riga and Daugavpils districts have not even repaired one-third of their tractors. . . ." The same was declared true for the Liepaja, Rujiena and Jaunjelgava districts.

The distribution of existing farm buildings also presents a major obstacle to the realization of Soviet collectivization plans. In independent Latvia there were 275,000 farms averaging 30 hectares. Large farm villages were non-existent and individual farms were chiefly operated by family owners. Fields, meadows and fallow lands separated such farms which, in many cases, were miles apart.

At present, the Communist government has established 1,513 kolkhozes made up of an average 183 individual holdings. Plans to move all buildings belonging to these farms to central sites require armies of skilled workers and enormous funds. If an average four buildings per farm were moved, there would be 730 such operations per kolkhoz and close to a million throughout the entire country. In their efforts to reach this goal, the kolkhozes deduct up to 25 percent of the peasants' income for "special" funds. However, there is not a single kolkhoz so far in which all the farm buildings have been moved. New buildings have been erected in some kolkhozes, but they are fairly small and are only for livestock.

Literaturnaja Gazeta (Moscow), April 9, complained of the difficulties created by the location of kolkhoz buildings.

"Small and large individual farms remain scattered all over the kolkhoz fields separated from each other by primitive drainage canals. This hinders tractor and combine movements and causes delay in kolkhoz development. . . . Without these individual farm buildings, the kolkhozes could develop much faster. At present, the cattle of one kolkhoz is scattered in 40 different places.

... In order to inspect all farms belonging to a single kolkhoz, one has to cover an area of 20 miles. What stones do to a plow, individual farms do to a kolkhoz."

Lithuania

Similar attempts to resettle farmers in Lithuania were announced by A. Snieckus, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party at the Moscow Congress in October 1952:

"The collective farms of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic can now begin to move workers from single dwellings to common living quarters, achieving the most important agricultural production goals at the same time. The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the government of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic have prepared plans for relocation and introduced them to the government of the Soviet Union for consideration. We ask you to help us in solving this problem."

There were about 350,000 individual farms in free Lithuania. According to a report delivered by A. Snieckus at a Party conference in Vilnius (in September 1952), 96.2 percent of farm land has been collectivized. Another report in February of this year sets the figure at 97 percent. More than 8,000 farms were originally created, but later found to be too small and were therefore combined to form 2,656 farms, with an average land area of 1,500 hectares (3,300 acres). People working the farms still live in buildings belonging to the former owners, but they are to be resettled in communal dwellings in the center of large collectives or "agrotowns" (*agrotowns*).

Such an "agrotown" was constructed as early as 1950 in the Siauliai region in northern Lithuania. About 1,000 people were housed in barracks-like buildings, each family receiving one or, in some cases, two rooms. Kitchen facilities are used in common.*

Albania

In Albania the amount of arable land consists of 320,000 hectares or 12 percent of the total surface of the country. State-controlled sovkhoses account for about 40,000 hectares and are the most profitable, while the area cultivated by the cooperatives amounts to about 160,000 hectares. The remaining 120,000 hectares are still in private hands and are less profitable chiefly because of the lack of working capital and the low level of production in mountain areas where the farmers produce less in an effort to avoid making deliveries to the State.

The number of collectives in Albania was referred to by Radio Tirana on April 20:

"The Second Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives

*The Soviet "agrotown" system was introduced in Estonia toward the end of 1949, but was abandoned sometime during the spring of 1951 and no further references were made to it until this year when *Rahva Haal* (Tallinn) published an article on February 27 criticizing the use of the term:

"There are many erroneous views in the story ['New Member'] by A. Siivas. For example, the author mentions several times that kolkhozniks started the construction of a new kolkhoz center—the future 'agrotown.' We know that many mistakes were made in the collectivization plan in respect [to these centers]. The annoying repetition of the word 'agrotown' will certainly mislead the reader. . . ."

opened this morning at nine o'clock. 115 Cooperatives with a total membership of 171,222 are represented as compared with 58 at the First Congress. 25 percent of the delegates are women."

At the fourth session of the Congress Premier Enver Hoxha delivered an address in which he compared the two Congresses and lauded members for their achievements during the past four years. He emphasized Soviet aid both past and present and called for vigilance against those who oppose collectivization. He also pointed to shortcomings and quoted reports from various districts concerning negligence, especially in sheep breeding.

"The most important factor is that the broad mass of our peasants and cooperative members must try to convince individual farmers to join the cooperatives," he continued, severely criticizing the chairman of the Dobrac Cooperative for retarding collectivization by failing to live in harmony with individual peasants and for maltreating and exploiting them.

Touching upon the duty of individual workers he remarked:

"The number of work days spent on administrative work and services is far too high. . . . 160 cooperative members have completed only 30 work days during the year, 217 have completed 31 to 60, and 458 members have completed 61 to 100. . . . Why do they accomplish so little, if they are fit for work?

"Such shortcomings must not be tolerated. It is difficult to understand why men who are fit to work perform only 30 to 60 work days a year. . . .

"If we look at the participation of women in cooperative work, we realize that the number of women fit to work is less than the number of men. Five hundred and twenty-six women have completed 31 to 60 work days during the year while 1,035 women have completed 61 to 100. . . . Many cooperative members still cling to the incorrect idea that women are unsuited for agricultural work. This is not a proper political idea. . . . Therefore, Communists and non-Party cooperative members must oblige women to work and improve themselves, and if they do not show any signs of improvement they should be expelled from the cooperatives. . . .

"It is quite right to say that our agricultural cooperatives have not given much attention to increasing their number and memberships. . . ."

In conclusion, he informed the representatives of a new credit extended to Albania by the Soviet Union in all economic sectors, but chiefly in agriculture.

IV. ECONOMIC BRIEFS

New Soviet-Modeled Statute

In its April 11 issue, the Romanian daily *Scanteia* published the text of a new collective farm statute which was later submitted as a draft to "public debate" during the Congress of Collective Farms held in Bucharest between May 7 and 10. No changes were made following the "debate."

Official comment accompanying the draft asserted that the new statute is based upon the principle of "voluntary joining" on the part of individual peasants, and that the new and "improved" legal provisions aim at increasing agricultural production and at "eliminating" present backwardness due to independent production. The new statute allegedly aims at raising the standard of living of the rural population.

Actually, the statute is a mere translation of the main provisions of the Soviet Artel law and reads in part as follows:

Section II stipulates that peasants who join the collective farms (kolkhozes) contribute all their lands. In exchange, they will be granted—for personal use but *not* as property—0.2 to 0.3 hectares, only half of what they were entitled to under the old statute.

Section III also obliges the peasants to contribute all draft animals, all agricultural tools and implements, including means of transportation, in their possession, as well as those needed for maintenance, seeds necessary for cultivating "contributed" lands during the current season, and the fodder needed for the upkeep of "contributed" animals during the first year. If the peasants do not have the required quantities of seeds and fodder—as established by the committee—money for seed will be deducted from his future share of the kolkhoze's annual production. Those who sold their cattle within two years prior to joining are required to contribute any earnings realized therefrom.

Chapter IV under Section III deals with the collective's "governing committee" and its duties, which are the same as those in the Soviet law: the obligation to undertake and correctly fulfill annual production targets, undertake pledges for overfulfilling set targets, organize "Socialist competitions," etc.

Chapter V deals with the rights and duties of members. Kulaks, "speculators" and their families, as well as those who have been deprived of their political and civil rights, are excluded from membership in the collective farms.

Admittance requests must be signed by all the members of a joining family. This is not a mere bureaucratic formality, but an official recognition that the whole family is subject to the rules and discipline of the collective. This is made very clear in Article 15, which introduces strict military discipline. Article 18 enumerates the penalties applicable in cases of lack of discipline or carelessness: the lowest, a fine of five work days; the highest, permanent exclusion from the collective.

Finally, Chapter VII grants unlimited powers to the governing committees to divide the labor force into brigades and to assign the tasks and targets to be fulfilled.

Each member of the collective is obliged to perform a minimum of 120 work days per year.* In the old stat-

*A work-day is neither a calendar or eight-hour day, but an arbitrary measurement of work performed. It measures technical "intensity" and the amount of work accomplished and may consist of from 6 to 24 hours of actual labor.

ute, the minimum was 80. The payment due for a work day is computed at the end of the year and depends entirely on the crop, the degree of productivity attained, and the amount needed by the State. There is no minimum guarantee for work performed.

Article 22 deals extensively with numerous deductions (taxes, fees "voluntary contributions", etc.) retained from the final crop. Most, if not all, of these deductions are fixed quantities of produce which must be deducted regardless of the outcome of the crop. Combined with the lack of provisions for computing payment, this last makes compensation an arbitrary decision of the governing committee.

In principle (Article 17), a peasant may leave the collective farm. Final approval, however, is subject to so many lengthy and complicated formalities that it is, for all practical purposes, impossible. In case of approval, however, the contributed land "will be returned." This provision is contradicted by Article 6, which states that the surface of the kolkhoz "will, under no circumstances, be reduced." Moreover, the governing committees are entitled to apply the drastic but very elastic provisions of the Sabotage Law and Penal Code in punishing actual or fictitious failures, or even "improper intentions." The application of these laws enables the committees to block restitution of contributed lands completely.

The goal of the new statute appears to be threefold.

1. To replace individual, "anarchic" investments in agriculture by a collective investment plan, thereby saving substantial funds as available machines, tools and animals will be "intensively" utilized;

2. to force the peasants to work more for less, in an effort to make up for the lack of incentive;

3. to attain complete control over agricultural production, thus creating a means by which to finance industrial projects and to compensate for price differences resulting from trade with the USSR.

Polish-Swedish Trade

According to the March 28 issue of *Finanstidningen* (Stockholm), the new trade agreement between Poland and Sweden, which became effective on March 1, provides for a considerable reduction in the volume of goods to be exchanged compared to the 1951-52 agreement. Coal, the most important Polish export, has been reduced from 3 million to 2.2 million tons, with a simultaneous reduction in Swedish iron ore, paper pulp and ball bearing exports. Total Swedish exports will amount to 85 million Swedish *kroner* (16.4 million dollars), compared to 185 million Swedish *kroner* (35.8 million dollars) as in 1951-52. Part of the Polish export surplus will be used to pay for Swedish deliveries within the framework of the 1947 long-term agreement, 50 million *kroner* (9.7 million dollars) of which falls due this year. The rest of the surplus is expected to be used for payments of prewar debts and interest both to the Swedish government and private creditors.

Actual deliveries will take place depending on the ex-

tent to which the coal quota is fulfilled. This is closely connected with the price policy of Polish coal exporters, and developments in the international coal market.

An announcement was also printed in the Polish press but no details were given.

Third Albanian Loan

Radio Tirana announced that the third State Loan within a year was launched on March 1. The minimum "contribution" was set at 500 *leks* (the average non-skilled worker earns 80 *leks* a day). On March 3, it was announced that the loan had been "overfulfilled" due to "enthusiastic efforts of the people." It was claimed that the 400 million *leks* asked by the Council of Ministers was oversubscribed by 10,457,050 *leks* "during the

first day." This was followed by a broadcast on March 13 which declared that, "On the basis of final results from the districts, the third State Loan for further economic and cultural development of the People's Republic of Albania has reached the amount of 501,453,950 *leks*. . . . [The] Loan has been oversubscribed by 101,453,950 *leks* —25 percent."

It is reported that local Party Committees boosted the minimum "contributions" by secretly turning over money to the poorest inhabitants who, in turn, offered it as their "contribution," thus forcing the wealthier villagers to give two or three times as much. In most villages the heaviest "contributions" are levied against those least in sympathy with the regime, forcing them to sell their remaining property and livestock.

"I'm From Nowa Huta...."

ONE OF the embarrassing "capitalist remnants" that the Communists have long attacked in their press and radio is the "bureaucratic tendency." Recently, in Poland, a confidence man made good use of the atmosphere created by those attacks and also took advantage of the very nature of Stalinist bureaucracy: its lack of personal involvement and personal responsibility. The story of this confidence man is a true story, not a fictional romance, and it happened last year in Communist Poland. In every line of the story, which follows, one can feel the general fear and regimentation which gave a vulgar and ill-educated thief the opportunity to make off with enormous quantities of goods by the terse introduction of "I'm from Nowa Huta. . . ."

Nowa Huta is a new industrial city the Communists have built near Cracow. They began it in 1950 and it is one of their major construction projects. Much publicity has been given to the undertaking and materials and labor for it have received priorities. The words *Nowa Huta* themselves mean New Foundry.

The article appeared in the official organ of the Polish Communist Party (the PZPR), *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), April 12, 1953, where it was given the entire eight columns of the bottom third of the prominent last page. The author, Jerzy Rawicz (probably a pen name), wrote the story with obvious heavy-handed satire and called it "One Hundred Men and He," but the satirical tone is not altogether possible to convey in English translation. The story has just a touch of Gogol's *Inspector General*—without its literary felicity or depth of passion—but it seems almost too good to be true, or perhaps more cynically, too true to be good. Zakrzewski might have said to one and all, "I'm from Nowa Huta . . ." but what is not remarkable in the Kafka-like atmosphere of Communist Poland is that no one replied to him right at the beginning: "I'm from Missouri. Show me."

It was a lovely summer day. In the offices of the Managing Committee of the Musical Industry, located at 5 Długa Street, work was at a standstill. No clients came. Office clerks looked wistfully through the windows, dreaming of a lazy lolling on the green grass outside. Suddenly, the door opened. The manager of the Trade Department,

Adam Lipinski, looked up with great interest at a brown-haired man of medium height who entered the office with a firm decisive step.

"The manager here?"

"What can I do for you?"

"My name is Zakrzewski. I am a representative of Nowa Huta. I need 18 accordions, 5 adapters and 5 clarinets. Here, this is the written order. . . ."

Citizen Lipinski looked it over. True, there was no date on it, nor any firm's name printed on the letterhead. But there was a seal on it. A large one at the bottom and another at the top: The Main Bureau for Construction of the City of Nowa Huta. And the other: Separate State Establishment in Nowa Huta. There was even a third seal: Secretary of District Party Organization attached to the Main Bureau. It was obvious that even the Secretary was interested in accordions.

Citizen Lipinski got busy. "We shall attend to it immediately. We are not bureaucrats, you know." Proudly, he wrote on the order: "To supply from the community stockpile." He signed it, put on the date: June 1, 1952, and personally took the order to the manager of the Trade Section, Grzegorz Kowalski. Kowalski issued a receipt from the store.

"And as regards payment, you can see it on the order. We'll transfer it to your account," Zakrzewski said. "It isn't much anyway. How much is it?"

"Just a second, we'll soon see. Here it is: 129,230 zlotys (at the official rate of exchange some \$32,307). Peanuts for Nowa Huta, eh? Ha, ha, ha!"

"Pack it all up then. I'll come by tomorrow to pick it up."

The next day a warehouse clerk, Zbigniew Potocki, issued the whole thing as ordered and Zakrzewski packed it all into a truck and drove away.

It was a nasty day. A brown-haired man of medium height knocked on the door of an office of the Textile House in Lodz, 2-5 Sienkiewicz Street. Inside, he said to a secretary: "I want to speak to the director."

"Who shall I say is calling?"

"Tell him I am a representative from Nowa Huta. I have no time to wait. It is urgent."

General Manager of the Textile Department, Citizen Marian Ramer, told the secretary to show the client in immediately.

"Good morning. Good morning. What has Nowa Huta got to do with us?" the Director asked gaily.

"Ah, my dear Director, I come here with a rather large order. It is both urgent and serious. You see, Nowa Huta is being built. You know about it, don't you? You read the newspapers?"

"Sure we do. How can you even ask?" The Director was hurt.

"You see, not everything is as simple with us. You, as you know yourself, produced wool before the war. You still do. But Nowa Huta is only beginning now, being built. We have to train cadres and send them abroad. You understand?"

"Sure, sure, perfectly," the Director agreed.

"People who travel out of the country must be nicely dressed. That is why we come to you for help."

"I understand perfectly," the Director said. "I would give it to you gladly. I would give you heaven itself. But you know—the rules. We can't do anything against them. Only the Ministry of Internal Trade has the right to dispose of our products."

"The Ministry, you say? Hmm, the Ministry. Oh, well, we'll have to go to the Ministry."

The next day was a beautiful day again. In the office of Stanislaw Piotrowski, Inspector of the Planning Department of the Ministry of Internal Trade, a telephone rang noisily.

"Hello. Oh, I see. Let him wait. What? He is in a hurry? He's raising hell? All right. Let him in."

Inspector Piotrowski read an order from Nowa Huta addressed to the Textile Department which called for 291 meters (about 320 yards) of 100 percent wool suiting material and 291 meters of 100 percent pure gabardine for topcoats. All material was to be used for Nowa Huta employees who were to be sent abroad and who should thus nobly represent the country by an esthetic appearance.

"Hmm. It is indeed important," Inspector Piotrowski said. "We must give—there's nothing else to do. But you know—I can't decide by myself."

"Well, go and ask your superiors then," the man who introduced himself as Zakrzewski said in a tone of resigned suffering.

And so Inspector Piotrowski wrote a spur-of-the-moment requisition and with it in his hand, went to his superior, Director of the Planning Division, Feliks Nowakowski.

"This is perfectly clear," Nowakowski said, initialing it. "Serwa must also sign it. . . ." So Piotrowski went to Serwa, Vice-Director of the Planning Division, and explained the whole matter over again.

"Consider this an urgent matter," Serwa said. "No bureaucracy here. I know what we'll do. We'll put it here, on the order, so they won't fuss around too much. . . ."

Triumphantly waving it in his hand, Piotrowski called to Zakrzewski: "I have it. I have it. Here you are!"

Frankly speaking, Inspector Piotrowski was a little puzzled by the Nowa Huta representative's lack of enthusiasm for such an efficient, non-bureaucratic manner of attending to clients' business.

Several days later, in Lodz, the weather was bad again. Director Ramer didn't fuss. Director of the Trade Department Jozef Brzozowski read the order, satisfied. Sales Manager Ignacy Kajszczak issued a written order to the warehouse in Bielsko.

And so, several days later (the weather was neither good nor bad), Jan Zakrzewski, with the authorization given to him by Wiktor Pyka (Director of the Cracow Warehouse), picked up 582 meters of pure wool, a total value of 265,000 *zlotys* (\$66,250), from the Bielsko Warehouse. The warehouse clerk, Adolf Klisz, volunteered to help load the whole consignment on the truck.

There was a dreary, boring drizzle outside. Pens and typewriters were working their way diligently through a busy day in the offices of the Lodz Clothing Center, at 85 Piotrkowska Street. The representative from Nowa Huta was discussing with Izydor Bojanowski, manager of the Center, the matter of purchasing suits and coats for 296 Nowa Huta employees who were being sent abroad. The suits and coats were to be made from 100 percent pure wool. Director Bojanowski was rather ruffled. "You see, my dear Citizen, we have only coats. Suits are unavailable now. That is a bother, eh?"

"Hmm," the newcomer from Nowa Huta sighed. "We have to be satisfied with what we've got. We'll have to get the suits elsewhere."

Director Bojanowski called in the manager of the clothing division, Jan Szpruch. He introduced him to the Nowa Huta representative. He invited the representative to his office where he gave him written authorization to pick up the coats. The pick-up was to be made at the warehouse on Sztetling Street. He didn't forget to write *Important* on the authorization, telling Zakrzewski: "Cenker will give you the coats without any fuss."

Hieronim Cenker, manager of the Sztetling Street warehouse, was very efficient. "Shall I give you the bill also?" he asked politely. "We'll save on stamps. Economy. That's what counts now."

"Oh well, I'll take it. I'll give it to them," the guest from Nowa Huta said, taking the bill for 296 gabardine coats. The bill came to a round 280,000 *zlotys* (\$70,000). He also took the coats.

After a long period of rain, the sun came out again. It was really lovely weather. "Isn't it funny," Marian Stanik, manager of the Fur Cooperative *Zakowice* of Radom, smiled, "hot as hell and here we are with all these furs. We really ought to pack up. . . ."

His subordinates laughed at the manager's joke. Amidst their gay laughter, the doorbell suddenly rang. All of them turned around. A brown-haired man of medium height stood in the doorway.

"I would like to speak to the manager."

"Here I am," Stanik said cheerfully.

The man took a letter from his briefcase addressed to the cooperative *Zakowice* of Radom. In the letter, the management of Nowa Huta informs the management of the cooperative of its plans to send 210 persons to the Ural Industrial [sic] Plants (in the Soviet Union) for technical training. In connection with this, it wishes to purchase an appropriate quantity of fur coats. "Their visit in the Soviet Union constitutes a high political importance and economic nature [sic]," the letter read charmingly.

Manager Stanik read the letter once and then a second time. He was not a linguistic purist and so he was not put off by the paragraph about "high political importance and economic nature," nor did he pay any attention to the misspelled *Industrial*. He examined the seals, not—we must admit—too carefully (the seals were seals after all) and looked happily at his guest. "You are a heaven-sent fellow, my dear sir. We were worrying about what to do with all these furs. The sun beats down madly and here you come. Isn't it wonderful? But there is a little thing here. . . . We did not expect such large orders and have only some hundred furs. But, it doesn't matter. I will help you get more. I will find them for you."

So Stanik got in touch with Bronislaw Hejdysz, chairman of the Cooperative, and they both agreed that the whole matter called for the help of the Director of the Leather Industry *Technikum*, Stefan Kielich. After all, the matter was quite important and such orders don't come every day. . . .

One telephone call, then another and, as a result, Director Kielich received the Nowa Huta representative with open arms.

"Please don't worry," he said. The city of Radom can do a lot. We still have PSS [District Consumer Cooperative], the Communal Labor Bureau, etc. They have furs. We'll manage somehow. . . ."

They managed. Altogether, Zakrzewski bought 134 furs, 11 women's seal jackets (women were also, to take part in the training), 106 fox collars and 1 fox overcoat from the Radom fur stores. Altogether 479,283 *zlotys* (approximately \$119,809).

The sea had the hue of an exquisite emerald and its color was reflected in a crystal vase, an exquisite piece of work prominently displayed in the window of the *Desy*

store in Gdynia. A brown-haired man of medium height entered the store and asked to speak to the manager.

"Our conversation will be very secret," he warned. "I was instructed by the UB [secret police] to warn you against disclosing the secrecy of this matter. I come from Nowa Huta. We are opening an experimental laboratory for foreign engineers at one of the sea resorts. I don't want to mention the name of the place because it is a state secret. We have at our disposal some 480,000 *zlotys* for furnishing the offices of these foreign engineers. All the furniture must be of the highest quality. Antiques, preferably. We'll make a thorough selection anyway. . . ."

So they began to select Louis XIV furniture, expensive pictures, tapestries and Persian carpets, crystals and Chinese vases. . . .

Zakrzewski was to call in a week to pick up the material. He called. He left the place assisted by militiamen.

Thanks to the vigilance of one of the lower-ranking women-employees, who decided to check the identity of the Nowa Huta representative, his fictitious name and faked certificates, filled with fantastic orthographic errors, the forged name of the general director, a false number for Nowa Huta's bank account, a ridiculous seal from the "Secretary of the local Party organization," etc. etc., were discovered. Until then, all those who dealt with the thief had not even bothered about such "trifles." They did not ask to see his identity card, paid no attention to errors or falsified pieces of paper, in short: to all the "small detailed things" which ought to have aroused their suspicion.

Altogether, this phony fellow who called himself Jan Zakrzewski, managed to get hold of public property to the value of 1,153,468 *zlotys* (\$288,367). All this loot Zakrzewski, with the aid of his partners, sold to blackmarketeers in Warsaw.

The real name of the thief is Stanislaw Adaszynski. In March, 1952, he was released from prison where he had been jailed in connection with aiding and abetting a swindler.

The story of Adaszynski's swindle is not a crime novel. It is a classic story of the stupidity of the people who are responsible for guarding the people's property. It is to be expected that they have learned the lesson of their lives from it.

And for others—all potential dupes—this story should serve as a didactic warning.



Radio Free Europe

Tonight, in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, men will sit down to turn on radio sets and listen to broadcasts from the Free World. They will sit in attics, in barns, in musty cellars and darkened rooms, to hear in their own language the voices of their brothers in the West bringing them the truth of democracy and the hope of their future liberation. And each program will begin with the terse announcement that the Communists dread and the captive peoples hear with an upsurge of hope: "This is Radio Free Europe. . . ."

THE RADIO SCRIPTS quoted below are excerpts from feature programs prepared by East European exiles for broadcast to their countrymen behind the Iron Curtain. These programs, supplementing regularly scheduled news broadcasts, are beamed by RFE to Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria and Romania. Radio Free Europe is on the air a total of approximately 300 program-hours a day.

The Mechanics of Monotony

The Communists issue statistics on production and on the collection of scrap. But one of these days statistics will be published on what they have done with human life, how much boredom and monotony they have wrought. Far swifter than they increased production did they impoverish life. And to deprive man of joy is the same crime as to deprive him of bread.

A man behind the Iron Curtain wakes up in the morning, steps out in the street—and already gray monotony trails behind him like a mangy dog. He goes to have a shave, and the barbers have been through government courses where they were told that politeness is an outdated bourgeois affectation. The barber is gloomy. Before, the customer used to keep his own razor at the barber's so as not to catch an infection from somebody else. Now, the barbers have been instructed at the government schools that a private razor is "an egoistic symbol revealing a secret longing for bigoted fascist times."

The citizen's chin burns, and he leaves for work where the "stiffened norm" awaits him, which means: better keep your eye on your work. The night before, the citizen attended political training courses. In the plant they tell him now that the political training has been set up at his place of work as well. We have a report from Unicov,

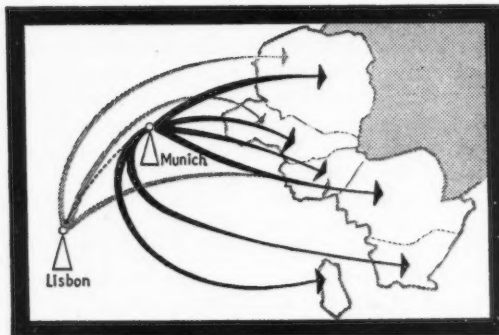
Moravia, on what it is like at these meetings. A sentry stands at the gate, to prevent anyone from leaving. So the employees scramble over the fence, to escape the government's care for their souls. There is a certain difference in the way meetings were arranged in the past and the way they are now arranged: during the days of the democracy the doors were open so that anyone could walk in; during Communist rule the doors are closed so that nobody can

leave. We read in the Communist newspaper *Prace* that "group listening to radio talks by Party and government representatives will be organized. The employees of commercial enterprises will listen directly at the place of work." Whenever a government representative wants to say anything, he must organize a trap, must post sentries.

The citizen does not escape, let us say, because the fence is too high. So now he at least would

like to eat. The same boredom and monotony greet him. We read in *Prace*: "There are many complaints from workers about the looks of the factory dining rooms and about the monotony of the food and the way it is served." Thus the spirit, the stomach, and the eye are systematically and implacably tormented by the same obtuse, inept monotony. The citizen would like to read his paper at lunch but puts it aside, because in it is an article by Professor Ladislav Stoll who, in the days of freedom, won all contests in boredom.

The citizen glances around to see where he can take refuge after work. He would like to go to a movie. If he lives in Litomerice, he is out of luck. Only one cinema remains there, and it features nothing but Russian propaganda films. If he lives in Prague, Budejovice, Pilsen, Hradec Kralove or Olomouc, he is also out of luck, since he must go to see the picture "Resist America, Help Korea."



He wouldn't go of his own volition, but at the factory they have already deducted the price of one ticket from his wages, and if he is married they have deducted the price of two tickets. The citizen views his life sadly and finds he cannot do what he would like to. Theater? In Lito-merice there was a theater, but now they play only Communist fairy tales for children. A cabaret? There they recite in verse what the citizen has heard in prose at the political training. Go to a dance? We have information on how dancing is conducted in Moravian Slovakia, the region which Petr Bezruc said had "hot blood". Members of the State Militia sit around the table, closely watching one and all. As a start, the band must play the Song of Work. Dancing is interrupted in the middle and trained detachments sing Communist battle songs. Further, the citizen may not dance what he fancies, but what the government orders him. In some towns, if he should dance the "American way," as it is termed, he is reprimanded the first time and the second time he is barred entrance to the room. What about going to a night club? On one hand the streets are dark, on the other hand you are sure the government will protect you: a control-guard will arrive and will check your papers. If by any chance you have forgotten them, they will take you away in the green car to the police station. So what about going and talking with somebody? That is the most dangerous thing of all. Only the closest friends and relatives dare speak frankly to each other.

What about going on a vacation? In nature there might be a respite. But when you board the train, alert men come running and press a leaflet in your hand, showing a picture of a man and a woman at a mountain resort, with the sun setting, and the caption reads: "Comrades, return refreshed and with new strength for the supreme task—the fulfilling of production norms." You grumble: "I'd prefer not to be refreshed," but the train has started moving. Nights, in the country, there is gossamer dusk, and you'll sit around the crackling fire and under the direction of the political instructor you will jolly well analyze the last article by Comrade Stalin on surplus value. Comrade Novotna will read aloud the editorials of the Party newspaper. If you are a teacher, you'll be instructed to study, during the holidays, Klement Gottwald's report from the Central Committee meeting. Only last year teachers were instructed to study, during the holidays, Comrade Slansky's report. Take care now, don't make the mistake of studying that one this year! And man, don't fall in love! They expect you to discuss the fulfilling of norms with your sweetheart.

So perhaps the citizen may deem it a stroke of luck if he gets ill. Then will he be left in peace? Not on your life. The director of one Prague hospital gathered relatives who had come with the foolish notion of seeing a patient, and enlightened them as follows: "The patient is not bored without his family. The nurses read the papers to him, thus enabling him to keep up with the political discussions he has missed through being absent from the factory. The patient's relatives would do better to spend their Sundays working with the voluntary brigades."

There are various milestones in life: a child is born, a

friend gets married, grandfather celebrates his golden wedding anniversary—and the government exhorts you on any such occasion to read "The History of the Russian Communist Party."

Taken all together, these things are as strong an incentive for revolt as are loss of freedom and the government's cruelty. Poverty of life is no less harrowing than material poverty, and one of these days the people will oust the Communist governments partly just because they are making life unbearably dull. We heard of an old lady in Prague who, for four days in a row, stood in line for two hours at a time to buy a ticket to the American film "Robin Hood." The light Austrian film called "Spring on Ice" was a greater success than the entire output of the State film studios put together. Why? Because the people long for a break in their boredom. Boredom is a torment, and people of all times and in any system have killed themselves because of it.

The Communist government attempts with all its might to make us, Radio Free Europe, repulsive to its people. We are experienced now, and I am convinced that theirs is a futile undertaking. Compared to the Czechoslovak government broadcasting, we have one peculiar advantage which at the outset might have seemed a disadvantage: whoever does not want to, need not listen to us. By listening to us, the people consummate their yearning for freedom of action. By not listening to the Communist radio, the people confirm their resistance to pressure. A 24 year-old girl fled across the border and she told us that while she was still in Prague she used to listen in to American quiz programs, although she did not understand a word of English. The only reason she gave for doing it is the most shocking indictment of the Communist regime I have ever heard. She said she was satisfied just to hear human laughter. Never fear, Communism will be vanquished. It has human nature to oppose it.

... This is the Voice of Free Czechoslovakia

Bees and Bolshevism

A Soviet article written by I. Khalifman, Stalin Prize winner, claimed that bees in the Soviet Union have been trained by applying the principles established by Ivan Pavlov, Soviet psychologist. The Russians say that they have taught swarms of bees to seek nectar and pollen from specific plants chosen by Soviet scientists, and to ignore the others. In short, the bees now follow the Party line, instead of the usual bee-line. Radio Free Europe has made its own inquiry and will tell you why it was found necessary to reform the bees. This is what we were told by the Soviets:

Bees have been a real problem to the Soviet Union. In a progressive country such as ours, how could we support a society which continued to live according to its own principles? Principles which completely ignore the wonderful changes brought about by Stalin's leadership?

Could we tolerate the existence of a kingdom in the USSR? Yes, Comrades, you heard me, a monarchy! Aren't bees ruled by a Queen?

Comrade Ivan Ivanovics Poporkoff called the Party's

attention to this scandalous fact. An immediate investigation was ordered to find out who was responsible for this sabotage. The investigating committee discovered a plot in the Ministry of Agriculture, formed for the purpose of covering the anti-State activities of the bees. These traitors hoped that the reactionary example would spread throughout the entire Soviet Union. The lines of conspiracy were far reaching. In the Usbuk republic, the MVD discovered a secret movement calling itself "Stalin For Queen of the Soviet Union." No need to tell you that the treacherous name camouflaged a monarchist-fascist organization, which was working for the restoration of the Romanoff dynasty. The leaders were executed, and the minor participants, two thousand five hundred and sixty-two of them, were sentenced to forced labor and sent to a Caucasus steel plant.

Comrade Ivan Ivanovics Poporkoff was nominated by the Supreme Council of the USSR to be High Commissar of all Soviet Bees, at the head of a powerful new Ministry, and to be given all necessary aides, scientists, special MVD detachments, and so forth.

Comrade Poporkoff started his energetic reforms without delay. He issued an order to all the bees in the Soviet Union, and commanded them to change their constitution. We now read you Poporkoff's decree:

"Comrade Bees!

"Because of the oppression of the imperialist capitalists and traitor Titoites, you have, until today, been the disgrace of the Soviet Union. But Comrade Stalin's eye sees everything; he has not forgotten the unfortunate Bee Comrades and he has decided to liberate them. From now on, you will be allowed to work, and you will enjoy the fruits of your effort. From now on, there will be no more exploitation. The bee-hive is yours. Be grateful to the glorious Stalin and produce more. Do not forget that he could have exterminated all of you, because you were lazy, reactionary enemies of the State. You are to depose your Queen at once, and declare that you have changed your Constitution and that you have formed a People's Republic. You must set up People's Courts, and punish all those who have misguided you until today.

"Comrade Bees, a new and happy period starts for you. Long live the People's Republic of Progressive Bolshevik Bees."

This decree is one of the show pieces of the Soviet Archives. However, Comrade Poporkoff was not sure that eloquence alone could change such reactionary creatures, and he has helped the bees to reform their State. Soviet Bee-experts liquidated all the Queens of the Bee-hives, and replaced them with five other bees who were called members of the Supreme Council of the People's Republic of Progressive Bees. This democratic revolution was not smooth. Infuriated bees, imperialistic agents of the West, killed the five members of the Supreme Council, and stung the Soviet Bee-experts. When this happened twice, Comrade Poporkoff realized that the bees did not want to have five leaders, so only one was placed there, with the title of President of the People's Republic. Comrade Poporkoff issued a new decree:

"Comrade Bees!

"The real victims of the previous monarchist-fascist regime were the drones, who were killed when they had fulfilled their procreative duties. The Soviet Union is liberating the drones, and declares them to be the most democratic elements of the People's Republic of Bees. No more drones are allowed to be killed! At the same time, the drones should show their gratitude with work. No drone is allowed to lounge anymore and all must collect honey. Comrade Drones, no more love, to work at once!"

A new deception awaited the High Commissar of Bees. The ungrateful drones continued to make love all the time and refused to work. On the other hand, the workers went on slaughtering the drones, and even the President of the Republic gave them a hand. But Comrade Poporkoff was not easily discouraged. He issued a new decree:

"Comrade Bees!

"We are pleased that you understand the Soviet Spirit so well. Those who do not work, do not deserve life. Go ahead and kill the drones; it is your duty, and also your privilege. But do not think the drones cannot be useful during their short lives. A drone-deputation was recently sent to me to declare their desire to help in building up Socialism. So I have ordered that the Political Police of the Bee-hives shall be made up of drones. They are to report all anti-State activities of the bee-workers, soldiers, and even the President of the Bee-People's Republic. However, the fact that the drones are now the Comrade Policeman does not mean that the workers are not allowed to kill them. The result will be that your Political Police will be the freshest and most elastic of all Political Police Forces, because it will be nourished every day by new elements. We hope that you will raise your honey norms, which are still not high enough."

The problem of the drones solved, Comrade Poporkoff turned his attention to the flowers. He issued a long order forbidding the bees to visit reactionary flowers such as white roses, carnations, and thirty-seven others. The Comrade bees were urged to attend to other more productive flowers. The bees resisted and again disregarded the orders. The High Commissar once more showed wisdom and statesmanship. He planted the acceptable flowers around the bee-hives, and exterminated all the others within a thirty-mile radius.

Now everything proceeds according to Plan. The decrees of Comrade Poporkoff are pinned inside and outside the bee-hives, loudspeakers have been set up in the neighborhood of the hives, and all books which treat of the life of bees are being rewritten, so that new bee generations will not take bad examples from the reactionary past.

Soviet scientists predict the degeneration and collapse of the bee-hives of the West, and Comrade Ivan Ivanovics Poporkoff has proudly reported: "The great work is almost accomplished. We have liberated the Soviet Bees!"

... This is the Voice of Free Hungary

The Sovrom "Squeeze"

Dear compatriots, you will need patience to listen to me

today, because I am going to give facts and figures concerning the famous "Sovroms", by means of which the Russians are bleeding our country.

The Soviets have invented a system of exploitation of the so-called "People's Democracies"—alleged to be sovereign states—which has no precedent in history, not even in the era of the colonialism of the past. A foreign power, the Soviet Union, has, aside from the Sovroms, become the owner of 800,000 acres of fertile land which belonged to Romanian citizens of German ancestry. These farms are located in the former counties of Sibiu, Basov, Fagaras and especially in Banat and Crisana. The RPR Minister of State Farms exploits them for the benefit of the Russians, to whom he delivers all the produce, about 80,000 carloads a year.

All Romanian land has in effect become an estate of the Soviets. But these 800,000 acres are not only "in effect" theirs, like the rest of the country; they are, in fact, the actual property of the Soviets. Can you imagine France or England becoming, after the war, owners of extensive tracts of land within the borders of Italy or Germany?

With the Sovroms, the case is even more ludicrous. The Russians have founded 14 allegedly joint-stock Soviet-Romanian companies which control anywhere from 50 to 100 percent of the total production and economic activity of Romania, and which are in effect managed by the Soviets. For instance, Sovrom Petrol, Sovrom Oil Industry Equipment, Sovrom Tractor, Sovrom Naval, Sovrom Transport, control 100 percent of the respective production or services. Sovrom Metal (Resita) controls 58 percent of the cast-iron production of the entire country, 40 percent of the steel, 100 percent of the coke.

Half of all this production belongs to the Soviets, who have invested nothing in the joint-stock companies. They have several ways of disposing of their "share": they can ship it free of charge to Russia; they can export it to one of the other captive countries, or even to Western countries for dollars; or they can sell it to Romania in exchange for other goods which they need. One example is natural gas. Here, in processing, a great deal of gas is burned and transformed into lampblack, of which thousands of tons are sent to Russia every year for their armament industry. Yet the amount of natural gas "belonging" to Russia is greater than the amount than can be transformed into lampblack. Since in its gaseous form gas cannot be exported, Russia's surplus quota is sold to Romania for Romanian consumption, and Russia is compensated with other products or is accorded a larger quota of the Romanian chemical production.

In this way, Russia calculates and controls all internal consumption in Romania. She selects the goods she wants in the quantity and quality desired, in exchange for her "share" of the Sovroms, which she then sells Romania on the spot. Perhaps, also, you do not know that these Sovroms are free of taxes and duties. The Romanian State, which levies such heavy taxes on peasants and workers, cannot tax these companies directed by the Russians who dispose of the greatest part of the country's production. Further, the Sovroms enjoy a favored status even compared to other State

enterprises: they enjoy priorities and special conditions at public auctions. High prices for Sovrom products are fixed by the Russians, and the Romanian State is compelled to pay them when the Russian "share" is sold in Romania.

As for the Romanian workers in Sovroms, they work under Russian orders which call for increasingly higher norms from them. With typical cynicism, Comrade Osman Hristache wrote a year ago in the newspaper *Free Romania*—that's what they call it—that "in the Soviet technician, the Romanian worker sees more than a brother when he is directed by him toward the summits of Stakhanovism." More than a brother is right!

I will give you another example of how the Soviets take their share of profit from every commercial transaction concluded in the country today. Through Sovrom Tractor, the Soviet Union makes a profit on every tractor manufactured in Brasov for the improvement of socialized agriculture in Romania. If the tractor is to be delivered in Dobrogea, the chances are that it will be transported on the river, and this way the Soviet Union will make another profit through Sovrom Transport. The whole transaction is, of course, financed through the Sovrom Bank. I could continue along the same line indefinitely to show that Romania is now in a situation where it has to pay the Soviet Union a commission on every move it makes.

Joint-stock companies, identical with Sovroms, have been set up by the Russians in all the European countries enslaved by them. The whole area behind the Iron Curtain has become a Soviet colony, while the so-called commercial treaties concluded between those countries are drawn up strictly on the Kremlin's orders and according to its needs. Naturally, the result is an increasingly low living standard and an increasing discontent of the population.

What has the free world done in the face of this type of Soviet exploitation, this new feudalism, this economic squeeze? With the voluntary consent of the participating nations, it has created a new sovereignty which will function freely. To the Community of Steel and Coal, France, Western Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg have accorded supra-national powers: thus, this authority has become the first agent of tomorrow's European Federation. The first free European market has been created which will bring our continent the same prosperity which the free American market has brought to the United States.

And that is only the beginning. Soon agricultural and other products will also be included. These accomplishments mark the true revolution which the European masses have so long awaited, not the revolutionary imposition of Stalin. You can imagine how much a free Romania will benefit from being able to export agricultural products and place them on a free market of the entire European continent.

... This is the Voice of Free Romania

The Will of the West

In his recently published work on the history of culture, Alfred Weber, a noted sociologist, ponders the question

of what type of man the totalitarian system seeks to produce. He offers the following answer:

"A man who has no freedom and who does not want freedom; a man who is a tool of the State serving the State; a robot without any human feelings; a de-humanized man; a non-man. . . ." That is right. To the Bolsheviks, spirit and religion are merely "parasites on the tree of life," and this is why only those men in whom discipline has destroyed what was left of their sense of freedom may become useful members of a totalitarian society.

Yet, Alfred Weber's definition, although correct in principle, is incomplete because it leaves out one very important matter.

While doing away with all spiritual, religious and moral sanctions, Bolshevism is very much concerned with breeding one particular emotion: the feeling of hatred.

One of the basic text-books designed for Soviet teachers is a book written by Yesipov and Gantcharov, published in 1946, and entitled *Pedagogy*. This book contains the following definition of Soviet patriotism:

"The pupils of the Soviet schools must realize that the feeling of Soviet patriotism is saturated with irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of Socialist society.

"Hatred gives birth to class revolutionary vigilance and creates a feeling of irreconcilability toward the class enemy. The weakening of such vigilance undermines the cause of the Socialist revolution. It is necessary to learn not only to hate the enemy but also to struggle with him, in time to unmask him, and finally, if he does not surrender, to destroy him."

These, according to the official text-book, are the educational pointers for Soviet children five years old and up.

The breeding of hatred is one of the foundations, not only of Soviet education, but also of the Soviet judicature and of Soviet justice.

[Some time ago] a new amnesty was announced in Moscow, accompanied by the fanfare of propaganda customary in such cases.

Amnesty—that is to say, an act of indulgence and forgiveness? Yes, but only with regard to common offenses, to all those criminal acts which are born of hatred, brutality, and greed.

The only category of prisoners who are *a priori* and unconditionally excluded from amnesty are the "counter-revolutionaries." The gates of Soviet prisons and camps will open to hundreds of thousands of thieves, but all those whose sole crime was love of freedom and the attempt to defend religion and to preserve human dignity will remain behind the iron bars and the barbed-wire fences.

Soviet morality has created its own concepts of virtue and of crime. In the totalitarian system, hatred toward the "class enemy," denunciation of parents by their children, destruction of freedom and religion, all are considered a virtue. On the other hand, faith in God, adherence to the principles of Christian morality, striving for freedom, and manifestations of charity, are recognized as a crime. . . . How is it possible that mankind continues to tolerate this state of affairs so grossly contradicting the

fundamental principles of morality and of human dignity?

The answer is simple. The forces of totalitarian Communism are highly concentrated and directed by one will; yesterday by the will of a dictator, today by the will of a ruling oligarchy. This oligarchy, which is not restrained by any ethical scruples, holds the strings of a huge conspiracy, the ultimate goal of which is to enslave all of mankind by imposing the system of Communist captivity.

Next to this single, concentrated will representing evil, there has not yet appeared a single will representing good. It would be an expression of unwarranted optimism to maintain that such a concentration of will-for-good, directed by courageous and aggressive political thinking, has already taken place. If it had occurred, the situation of the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russia would have been altogether different today.

However, if we compare the present situation with that of a few years ago, or even of last year, we shall be able to see remarkable progress and improvement—a progress in just that sphere of concentration and unification of the will of the Western world. It is no longer a defensive will to contain and to check the aggression of Communist totalitarianism. Instead, it is a conscious effort toward mobilization of positive strength, an effort undertaken with the clear intention of building a lasting peace on the principle of the complete independence of all nations and the true freedom of all people.

That is why, when we think today of the liberation of Poland and of other peoples oppressed by the Soviets, we do not have to worry any longer about "ifs" and "whethers". . . . The problem may be narrowed down to the single question: "When?"

The answer to this question does not depend any longer on the ideological or political stand of the United States and that of other Western nations. It depends on a number of circumstances whose course and speed no one can foresee. These incidental considerations may cause numerous deferments and delays, but there is no human power which can change the fundamental course of history, a course leading to resurrection.

. . . This is the Voice of Free Poland

"We Accuse . . ."

As our radio listeners already know, in this series of talks we regularly expose the criminal activities, outrages and treacheries against the Bulgarian people committed by those Bulgarians who have placed themselves in the service of the Soviet occupiers. Obviously these hirelings have sold themselves for certain material benefits which they could not achieve by honest work. There cannot be a grimmer picture of moral debasement than this. But these blindfolded tools of the foreign conquerors should realize, first of all, that the outrages suffered by a people at the hands of their own countrymen are doubly reprehensible; and, second, that the Soviet occupiers will not remain permanently in Bulgaria. It follows therefore that these men should begin to think about what will happen

to them when they will once again have to live among Bulgarians. Obviously their friends from Moscow will not invite them along on the return trip, and the Bulgarian people will ostracize them for the crimes they have committed. This will mean for them a spiritual death which is the most dreadful thing that can strike a man living in society. They should further remember that physical punishment awaits them, too, since such is the law in any organized human society.

Nevertheless, our people may show leniency toward those who come to their senses in time. Until then, we, the Free Bulgarians of Radio Free Europe, deem it our imperative duty to expose such persons and to make public their anti-Bulgarian activities. Today, for instance, we will take up the case of Ivan Mirchev, a former insurance agent and now a secret agent of the State Security Service in Russe. Dear listeners, try to remember his name well, because one day you will need it. We repeat: He is Ivan Mirchev, former insurance agent and presently a secret agent of the State Security Service in Russe. Here in brief is the career of this traitor to the Bulgarian people.

Ivan Mirchev was born in one of the villages of the Silistra region. We do not know exactly which one, since he left his native village many years ago to take up residence in Russe. He is about 43 years of age, a man of medium height, with brown hair and blue eyes. He is a high school graduate. Prior to the Communist coup of September 9, 1944, he was never concerned with Communism. The pre-Communist government authorities had a good opinion of him. At that time he was employed by an insurance company. After the Communists nationalized the private insurance companies, Mirchev became an employee of a State-owned workers' insurance company, and remained at this post until 1948, when he became a secret agent of the State Security Service.

In order to conceal his real activities, his Communist bosses appointed him inspector of tobacco cultivation in the Russe area. This job allowed him to travel freely in the Russe region without arousing suspicion. He also travelled occasionally in the Silistra region, as well as in certain parts of Dobrudga where he had many old friends. Thanks to these connections, Ivan Mirchev easily won the confidence of the farmers to whom he presented himself as their friend. In conversations with them, he joined them in their complaints about the Communist regime in order to gain their confidence. Through this technique, Mirchev succeeded in misleading a great number of gullible peasants. Since Mirchev did not denounce them right away, the peasants believed that confiding in him was safe. Mirchev went so far as to organize anti-Communist groups and to solicit funds for their maintenance. In the meantime, he carefully wrote down every word said by any peasant who was naive enough to speak freely.

The Communist State Security Service, acting on denunciations and evidence handed in by Ivan Mirchev, struck in 1950. Peasants from the Silistra villages of Popina, Alfatar, Isheriovio, Srebarna and Aydemir, as well as the Tutrakan villages of Malak Preslavetz, Dunavtzi,

Sokol, and many other villages in the Kurbunar and Dobrotch regions, were deported en masse to forced labor camps of the Tutrakan region. As a result of one man's shameless betrayals, hundreds of peasant families suffered from the terror campaign launched by the State Security Service in Russe. "Tobacco expert" Mirchev's real identity became known to the population, and so the State Security had to find a new identity for Mirchev. He was given a new job in the Danube artisan combine at Russe, from where he continues to act as an informer for the State. Ivan Mirchev did not remain unrewarded for his services. At present he lives in a luxurious apartment at 98 Stalin Bulevard in Russe.

Yes, Mr. Mirchev, it is an easy task to betray Bulgarians when you represent yourself as a tobacco expert! Your Biblical counterpart at least had the courage to betray his Teacher without disguising himself.

Take heed, Ivan Mirchev, the Bulgarian Judas from Russe; we, the free Bulgarians, are addressing you! Remember that your name appears on the black list in capital letters!

Next, Kyril Stanchev's turn. He is chief of the Cadre Department of the Borough Committee of the Ferdinand [County] Communist Party. Dear listeners, try to remember his name, because some day you will need it, too. We repeat: He is Kyril Stanchev, chief of the Cadre Department of the Borough Committee of the Ferdinand Communist Party. Here in brief is the career of this traitor to the Bulgarian people.

By coincidence Kyril Stanchev's name is the same as that of a Bulgarian patriot, the former General Kyril Stanchev, who is today in prison because he refused to bow to the Soviet invaders. Therefore, he has nothing in common with this Kyril Stanchev. The Soviet agent Kyril Stanchev was born in the village of Vinishte, county of Ferdinand. He is about 40 years of age, medium height, slender, with brown hair and eyes. Stanchev completed his secondary commercial studies (business school) and earned his living as a white-collar worker.

In 1939-1940, Stanchev was treasurer of the Klisura village cooperative. In this period he became a fanatic Fascist and joined the "Branik" organization. From 1941 to 1944, Kyril Stanchev was employed by the State railway as assistant station master at Berkovitz. His contact with the underground Communist Party started in early 1944. His brother Branko Stanchev was a member of the "Hristo Mihailov" guerrilla force fighting near Berkovitz. Branko contacted his brother Kyril who was working at the railroad junction two kilometers from town, and from that time on Kyril became an informer and spy for the Communists.

After September 9, 1944, Kyril's brother Branko was appointed chief of the militia at Ferdinand. In the beginning of 1945, Branko relieved Kyril of his duties with the railroad and appointed him Soviet president of Gorna Verenishte borough. Thus former Nazi Kyril Stanchev was appointed Communist boss of six villages. Soon afterward, he was elected Communist Party secretary of Vin-

ishte. While he was borough president, Stanchev cruelly persecuted the population of the six villages under his jurisdiction, and had as many as 18 farmers sentenced to life imprisonment simply because they had once belonged to nationalistic organizations. Apparently, Stanchev conveniently forgot his own "Branik" past.

Yes, Mr. Stanchev, instead of punishing you as an element dangerous to society, the Bulgarian Stalinists have appointed you to rule. We warn you, Kyril Stanchev, that the day when the Soviet occupants will leave our country is approaching. Try to summon your strength, if there is any left, of course, and stop your outrages, because the penalty will be severe.

Take heed, Kyril Stanchev, we, the free Bulgarians, are addressing you! Remember that your name appears on the black list in capital letters!

... This is the Voice of Free Bulgaria

European Unity

There is much reason to believe that the chief aim of the new peace campaign of the Kremlin is to hamper the organization and defense of the free world. This includes the aim of hindering the realization of a United Europe, because in a united Europe the Kremlin sees the failure of its own imperialistic plans. The bitter experiences of recent years have convinced the free world that Soviet Russia cannot be trusted in what she says. This doubt of the Soviet Union was openly expressed by the Belgian foreign Minister, Paul Van Zeeland. In a message addressed to the Committee of the Ministers of the Council of Europe, after a recent meeting in Strasbourg, he announced that the new peace overtures of Russia should not stop Western democracies in their efforts to achieve European union. Europe should move quickly, with courage and decisiveness, not only for the defense of the nations involved but also for the solution of their basic economic problems.

There may be differences of viewpoint among the nations in favor of the creation of a supra-national Community. There may be, among these nations, some who do not like the thought of sacrificing any of their national sovereignty. However, the basic purpose, which is the defense of their freedom, must overcome every hesitancy. The defense of Europe requires the realization of unity. The chief duty of the Council of Europe is to coordinate all powers so that they will not succumb in the face of

unexpected events. In the present atomic era of speed, there is no safeguard other than unification for the nations of free Europe. Unity makes for power and power is the basis of defense.

It is a fact that a kind of temporary elation sprang up with the new peace propaganda of the Kremlin. When a thing is desired by everyone, it is natural that every word said in favor of it raises the hopes in the hearts of men. However, this is not the first time that the Kremlin has spoken in favor of peace. At the end of the war it spoke of peace, although eight years have passed and peace cannot be found anywhere. This is not the first time that Soviet Russia has declared that the differences between the East and the West can be ironed out at the conference table. But up to the present, no concrete results have ever been attained. The mirage of eventual peace is always dissolved by the amazing demands of Moscow.

We do not say that the Russian peace overtures should be rejected outright. But neither is it time for these offers to be taken into consideration without reserve. If Soviet Russia wishes peace then she must do what President Eisenhower called for in his historic declaration: she must submit concrete proof of her intentions. At the same time, the free world must advance with firmly planted steps. The continuance of defense preparations does not create a single obstacle to any peace talks. The defense preparations of the West have never been provocative. Only through such preparations can the hand which seeks to put the match to the gunpowder be stopped.

Economic organization has the same importance for a United Europe as does the organization of defense. Aside from the present troubled conditions, the era in which we live has changed the economic structure of the world. Economic problems today cannot be solved by isolated treaties but only by a collective coordination. The unification of Europe does not only signify power but also the realization of prosperity.

The ultimate goal is not the unification of the democracies of Western Europe, but the unification of all the nations of the world, large and small. Naturally, in this union must be included the nations of the Soviet bloc when they are free from the present tyrannical rule.

A united Europe threatens only the Kremlin rulers who see in it the failure of their imperialistic plans. But we are convinced that the unification of Europe will one day become an accomplished fact.

... This is the Voice of Free Albania

The New Architecture

LAST summer a group of architects from 20 foreign countries, including Sweden, Britain and the United States, had an opportunity to see architecture behind the Curtain. Invited to an International Conference sponsored by the Polish Architectural Society, they spent several days visiting construction sites in Warsaw, Cracow, Nowa Huta and other major cities. Their impressions of building activity in Poland show that Communist theories of architecture and city planning are being carried out in practice, but with extreme caution and great difficulty. Party theoreticians have given their greatest attention to city planning, still generally only in the paper stage. Building design has been left to the architects, who are having trouble translating Marxist theory into practical architectural forms, and who disagree basically with the demand to apply political precepts to architecture.

I. THE REBUILDING OF WARSAW

According to reports of the conference, the biggest architectural project in Poland is the rebuilding of Warsaw (almost totally destroyed during World War II) into the perfect Socialist city. The ideas for such a city were formulated as early as 1949 (See December 1952 issue). Briefly, they are that "the fundamental feature of a Socialist city must be its active participation and help in generating national income"; that "the urban expression of a Socialist city should reflect its social composition"; that "the plan

of spacing a Socialist city must provide all necessary clues as to the social relationships of the respective parts of the city, finding its expression in the common link, and not in the division of buildings into isolated islands"; and that "the planning and architecture of a Socialist city should form the synthesis of meeting social, economic and esthetic needs, and cannot contradict the requirements of economy from the viewpoint of investment and upkeep costs."

Now that these concepts have been redefined in terms of a specific city, their political implications become readily apparent. As a Socialist city, Warsaw will take the following form: a large center nucleus, one mile wide and two and one half miles long, will be separated from the rest of Warsaw by a wide green park "belt." Complete plans for the nucleus have never been announced, but on the basis of what is known it is apparent that this area will be the most important part of the city, containing administrative and Party buildings, squares for use in parades and demonstrations, and a few housing projects believed to be limited to the use of favored workers and Party leaders. The reconstructed "old city" stands in this area.

Fanning out of the center area as spokes from the hub of a wheel will be four main industrial districts, each easily accessible to several nearby residential areas and containing its own facilities: schools, nurseries, shops, cinemas, youth clubs and cultural centers.

From the Communist point of view, there are several

political and economic advantages to such a plan. Concentration of the Party clique in the center of the city calls to mind the Kremlin fortress, which gives perfect and threatening architectural expression to the "power of the Party and the government." At the same time, by restricting the people's activity to self-enclosed communities, control from the center will be facilitated. Under the existing housing system, the worker commutes daily from his factory to the suburban environs where he lives. The new plan is probably calculated to eradicate the "dual life" of work and home and weld the two into a "collective life."

The economic plan for the residential-industrial part of Warsaw is based principally upon the savings it will effect in transportation facilities. In view of Warsaw's inadequate communications system this is perhaps justifiable, especially if, as is planned, residential districts are developed simultaneously with their adjoining industries.

Historic Warsaw

A brief look at prewar and war-torn Warsaw gives the best idea of the magnitude of the government's plan for rebuilding the city, and gives significance to some of the problems already encountered. During the 19th century, Warsaw became a great industrial center. In its rapid growth, its population increased from 70,000 to almost one million, and its area trebled, sprawling virtually unplanned. New industries sprang up everywhere, making of Warsaw a dense, congested city. To house workers, block upon block of squalid and sunless tenements were put up on cheap land in the outer suburbs. By 1939 Warsaw held over 1,250,000 people, many of them living in crowded conditions. A few model housing schemes were erected on the outskirts of the city and some important public buildings went up in the center, but no substantial changes to alleviate congestion were made during the entire period of its expansion.

During World War II the entire north central residential area of Warsaw (the Ghetto) was destroyed block by block by the Nazis. What remained of the population by 1944 was expelled to the outermost suburbs and beyond, while the Nazis obliterated almost all the rest of the city. Most historic palaces and public buildings were completely demolished. By 1945, when the people began to return to the ruined city, they found almost 85 percent totally destroyed. The only housing left standing was in the outer suburbs and in Praga, the section across the river. Here were the ruins of a city built without a plan, but popular sentiment demanded that it all be reconstructed and the government passed a law to this effect in January of the following year. Everyone lent a hand in clearing the streets of rubble, stacking salvagable bricks and repairing damaged buildings. After the new Communist government had outlawed direct State congregational assistance to the church, Cardinal Hlond initiated an agreement with the State whereby the church would help collect funds for rebuilding, provided that churches were included in reconstruction plans. The government then organized a fund-raising campaign in every city and district of the country, contributed a small amount itself, and by the end of 1949

most existing buildings, with the exception of certain historic edifices, were restored. But the reconstructed housing, together with the small and relatively undamaged portion, still made up only 43 percent of the prewar city. It was clear that pressing needs for housing and public facilities would have to be satisfied as quickly as possible.

The new Communist government did almost no building at all. Under the guise of satisfying the "esthetic needs and desires of the people," the Party planners set to work on long-term paper projects which would set up the theoretical requirements for a "Socialist city". The task of creating a "new city" would not be easy, it was admitted, and would take many years.

A Six-Year Plan

It was not until late 1949, after a group of Party architects met in conference in July, that a Six-Year Warsaw Reconstruction Plan based on the concepts of the "perfect Socialist City" was formulated. It represents the first installment of a twenty-year plan to be completed by 1970. The six-year plan covers all building activity and is to be realized in five- or six-year stages, coinciding with the stages of economic planning. Industry and surrounding residential areas are to be built simultaneously and coordinated to one another. By 1955 it is planned that Warsaw will be a city of one million people (1953 population: 900,000), with its administrative boundaries covering a little less than three times as much territory as before the war. The estimate for 1970 is a city of 2 million people, based on the anticipated economic needs of the entire country.

The 1949 conference, then, marked the end of reconstruction and the beginning of new construction plans. It was then that the "mistakes of the past" were cited and earmarked for correction. Moreover, the "erroneous tendencies" so noticeable in earlier years, when a few buildings went up without an organized plan, are still being criticized. For example, the Warsaw paper *Przegląd Kulturalny* wrote on April 2nd of this year:

"... Many erroneous tendencies found their application in architectural projects and accomplishments of the first several years of our country's reconstruction. They expressed themselves, among other things, in a rigorist division of the city's system into separate administrative, commercial and residential zones. The latter, as a rule, were removed from the city's center and became independent settlements. . . ."

Przegląd Kulturalny, in the same article, reprinted a part of President Bierut's address at the July conference in which he called upon architects to correct past mistakes:

"... We must make up for our negligence in the field of architecture, where the remnants of bourgeois cosmopolitanism still prevail. . . . The disjointed districts of prewar Warsaw, divided by the borders of private property, provided no opportunity for large scale projects and did not permit architects to take full advantage of all possibilities. . . . With the coming of our time, however, when the economic system has laid the basis for a truly harmonious and universal development of our national architectural culture, large scale planning is now possible. . . ."

Stalin Palace

Even after the important decisions and plans of 1949 were made, city planning proceeded slowly until 1952, when one large housing development, the Marszałkowska Street Residential Section, was erected in the city's center. A British delegate to the International Architectural Conference in August 1952 reported that an enormous army of masons from all over Poland was sent to the Marszałkowska development a few days before its opening in order to complete the work of putting facing stone on all the buildings.

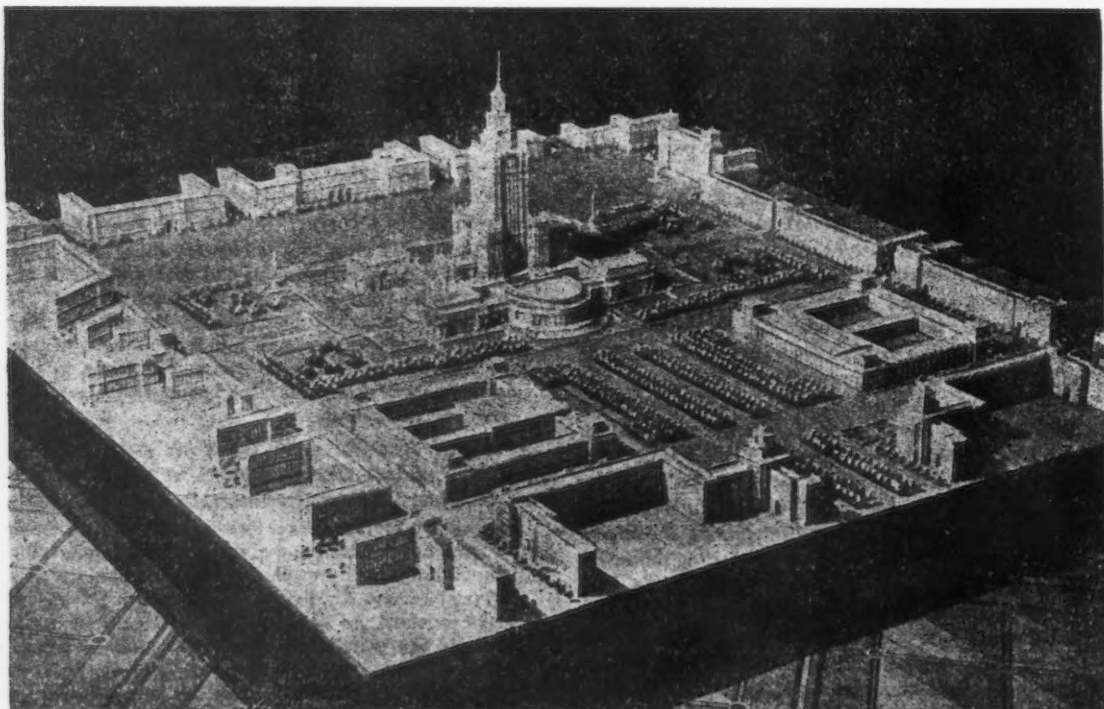
Marszałkowska subsequently became something of a paragon of correct architectural expression, frequently referred to in the press as a "palace for workers." It was not long after, however, that Poland received a gift from the Soviet Union in the form of a paper project for a Palace of Culture to be located in the city's center and housing the Polish Academy of Sciences and research institutes, a youth center, a congress hall for 4,000, a concert hall, a cinema, and an exhibition hall. (It is believed by Polish exiles that Army headquarters will be located in the basement of the building which Warsaw citizens were not permitted to see during construction.)

Now that Poland has received this gift, writes the Warsaw press, the problem of designing the remainder of the central area can be readily solved and building can at last get underway on a large scale. *Trybuna Ludu* wrote on

April 15 that "once and for all [the palace] settled the question of ideology, plan and scale of the city's center. Its use as a central place for popular demonstrations . . . will quicken socialistic education among the people. . . ." *Przegląd Kulturalny* agreed, in an article published April 23:

" . . . The urgency of solving the ever-increasing needs of Warsaw inhabitants handicapped Polish architects in their efforts to work out a clear plan of the whole city's composition. . . . A suitable solution to the city's structure was, however, given to the architects with the presentation of the Palace of Science and Culture, named after Joseph Stalin. The palace—that principal, magnificent symbol of the Socialist capital—will naturally become the center with which the future planning of the city will have to be synchronized. . . ."

Although Polish architects have been engaged in a "competition" since the Palace was donated, none of their submitted plans for the area surrounding the Palace and completing the nucleus, has yet been accepted. Consequently, very little is known of what the center will contain or how it will look. One of the British delegates to last year's Conference, however, reported that two more housing projects were under construction, one within the shell of the old city, another on the site of the former Ghetto. The Britisher also said that the area would be at a level of some eighty feet, punctuated by carefully situated, high, tower



Model drawing of Stalin Palace, to be located in the heart of Warsaw's center and surrounded by Stalin Square. No identification of the remaining buildings in the square was given in the caption accompanying this drawing, which appeared in the Warsaw weekly *Stolica*, April 26, 1953. (see main text)

buildings, the tallest of which will be Stalin Palace. The Warsaw weekly, *Stolica*, added a little information in an April 28 article, when it wrote that the square in which Stalin Palace is being built will measure 760 by 500 meters. Its large size, the paper pointed out, will make it necessary to cover the square with greenery, divided by avenues leading to the Palace. At the same time, the layout will permit 700,000 persons to march through the square in a three hour demonstration. According to plans, the paper concluded, the square will be exactly at the heart of Warsaw and adorned with a monument of Stalin. A photograph accompanying the *Stolica* article shows a suggested design for the square, but there was no indication that this design had been approved for action. All current building activity in the nucleus is devoted principally to Stalin Palace, which is scheduled for completion in less than three years.

No building has been done at all in the surrounding industrial-residential areas, and there is no information indicating that designs have yet been drawn up. Most future building now hinges upon Poland's architects, who must create forms which incorporate the basic concepts of city planning as formulated by Party theoreticians.

II. PROGRESSIVE ARCHITECTURE

Although numerous theoretical statements have been made by Party spokesmen concerning architecture, as well as city planning, as a component of political propaganda, the specific ways in which architects are to play that role have never actually been defined. Polish architects are simply told that they should reject "bourgeois" Western forms; that they should look to the "progressive" past for inspiration (out of which a "new" architecture, combining the best of every tradition, will emerge); that their new architecture should "speak for the high ideals which are moving our nations forward"; that they should build "palaces for the workers"; and that they should consider it their first duty to "express in their works the needs and desires of the people, both esthetically and physically."

The problems of converting Marxist ideology into structural realities have led the Communists into a curious search for "traditions" to exploit in both architecture and city planning. Some of the braver architects have called for architecture that satisfies esthetic needs as well as functional needs, and have directed practising architects to search for tap roots in the wonders of ancient Greece, in Byzantine architecture, in the "Italian humanists of the Renaissance," and even in English Gothic and in California.

Recently, for example, *Przegląd Kulturalny* wrote on April 2:

"... The purpose of a residential building is first of all to provide an appropriate number of comfortable and well-equipped homes. However, we cannot forget

about its role in shaping and supplementing the appearance of a street or square. . . . Our new scale of planning, with its wide avenues and large squares, requires a framework of tall, monumental buildings. . . . Some architects still hesitate in applying this rich, more profuse composition in their plans. [They claim] that this gives buildings an unnecessary 'palace' character. They maintain that rich means of expression, which in the past gave a 'look of splendor' to mansions of magnates, cannot be successfully utilized in a residential building. This view is based on a one-sided understanding of the social essence of building, one which considers only the utilitarian aspect. This view ignores the need to create a maximum esthetic impact, for the benefit of tenants and outside spectators alike. A rich treasure chest of past national and foreign achievements not only can but should become the sources from which we may borrow profusely, building the palaces of our times: the palaces of the working people.

"Foreign architectural achievements not only can but should become the source from which we may borrow profusely in building the palaces of our own times, the palaces of the working people. . . . At the same time, the new social essence and the necessity to express and satisfy new requirements, which forces us to search for a new way of applying historical forms of architecture, is the best guarantee that . . . our architecture will not become a mere repetition of existing forms. . . . The architect should not be deprived of the right of basing his composition on the accomplishments of world architecture. . . . Every epoch of grand development in architecture created values which, in the hands of our clever contemporary architects, may contribute to the formation of new, magnificent compositions. . . . Already we can see successful accomplishments in our residential constructions, where the problem of taking from the past was rightly solved and where past accomplishments were creatively applied to new buildings. The best example, of course, is the monumental Marszałkowska Residential District, which constitutes a grand structural wholeness of impressively erected buildings, palaces of the working people. . . ."

However, neither the search for an architectural tradition, nor the combination of Marxism-Leninism with architecture and city planning, has been successful. What will satisfy Party theoreticians and Moscow is a matter of guesswork, and the majority of Polish architects favor a simple, functional design dangerously resembling modern "bourgeois" trends in America and Western Europe.

Architectural Debate

Shortly after the important Marszałkowska housing project was completed, a group of Warsaw architects met in conference on October 9, 1952 to discuss their opinions of it. The debate, only recently published, was very likely postponed because most comments made were clearly anti-Party. Perhaps it was felt that architects need a genuine exchange of ideas in order to stimulate them into activity. Or, as Warsaw's leading architect pointed out at the close of the discussion, the Party probably considered the architects' criticisms of its theories "insufficiently sharp and

firm," and therefore of little importance. In any case, a free, controversial forum resulted, so unique that most of its important excerpts will be given below. Since the debate centered on the Marszałkowska project, the architects' remarks will be prefaced by a brief description of it.

The buildings of Marszałkowska Project, combining a base of shops with apartments standing above them, are decorated with elaborate exterior garlands, columns, heavy classic cornices and embellishments which "depict the new, monumental culture." A British observer last year compared these lavish displays to the forms employed centuries ago by "architects working in imperial, regal society for dukes, kings, emperors or popes; or later, in more capitalistic societies, for owners of banks and department stores." The British architect then made an interesting analysis:

"Perhaps this heavy, slightly forbidding classicism... may be justified in a city square where all the buildings serve a monumental function. But these palatial facades around the square were those of workers' homes!... Marszałkowska Square looks well for an occasional procession, and as the center of the city, but was this the place, one wondered, for intimate everyday, family, neighborhood life?..."

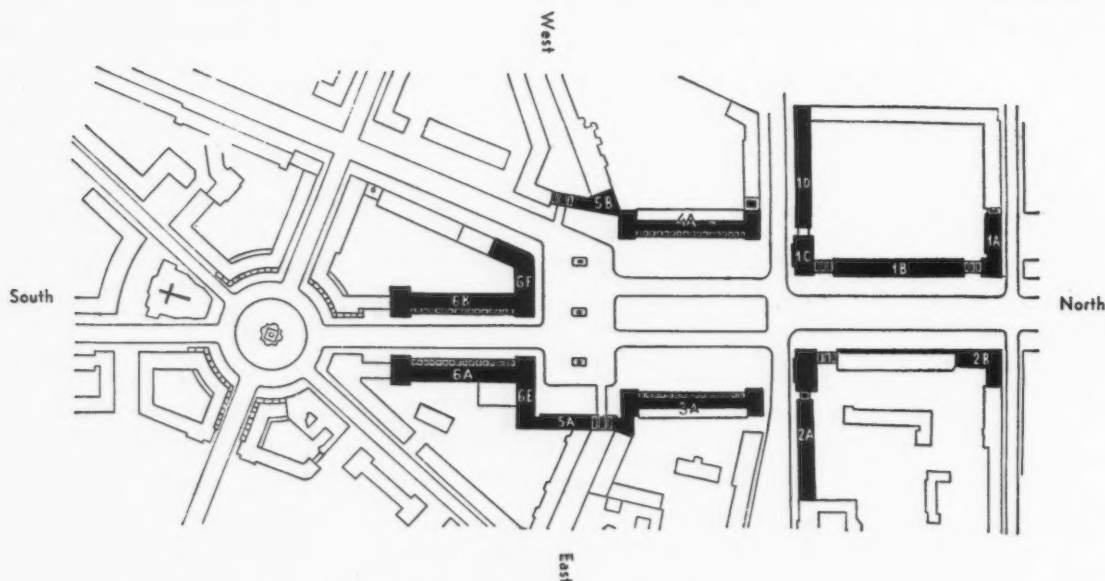
Whose Fault?

The architectural discussion mentioned above was published in the Warsaw monthly *Architektura*, January 1953. Both architects and sculptors participated, and their comments clearly show that each group wished to place the blame for past mistakes on the other.

Jankowski: "Regarding the proportion of the square, problems have arisen as to the insufficient height of its southern wall and of the buildings 6-E and 6-F... We consider our concept of the scale of sculptures on buildings 6-A and 6-B as incorrect. While it may be true that the blame for it should be put upon the sculptors, it must be admitted that the problem itself was posed incorrectly by the architects..."

Weinfeld: "On the sixth floor there are balconies which were to give the front of the building a residential character... But the front is too monumental in its mass to permit such application. We see here a certain kind of formalism... There are too many unnecessary things in the whole structure—too many rather than too few... I see here the need for a firm plastic expressiveness, but cannot approve the idea of great, splendid-looking columns in front of ordinary residential homes. This is an elementary problem with which we shall frequently be confronted in the future. I simply cannot approve of the idea of powerful columns for merely decorative purposes... I have a feeling that the architecture has acquired too monumental an expression, that the principles of harmony between form and essence have been forgotten... There is a false note somewhere... What should Polish architecture be like, the architecture of our magnificent Warsaw? It should be simple and quiet, clear and modest in its means of expression, joyful and serious without severity, and, first of all, it should be sincere and honest in expression. Such architecture will express the greatness of the Socialist system."

Wierzbicki: "The constructed part of the square has disappointed us to a certain extent. It disappointed us



The south section of Warsaw's nucleus, showing Marszałkowska Residential Section. The black areas represent completed buildings; the large white square between buildings 4A and 3A is Constitution Square. Marszałkowska Street runs through the center of the section, extending northward to Stalin Square (the heart of Warsaw's center) in which Stalin Palace is being built. To the northwest of Stalin Square is the former Ghetto area; northeast is Warsaw's "old city."

[*Architektura* (Warsaw), January 1953]

as people who love faultless, beautiful and harmonious things. Earlier, at the exhibition in Zacheta, I said that this architecture was alien. Perhaps it is not even as much alien as it is too serious and devoid of the gaiety of life. . . . This mass of stone is a great misunderstanding. Warsaw has never used so much stone, and it is difficult to supply Warsaw with stone. One may be generous in using stone when the city happens to be built on it, but to ship it from faraway places seems to be a luxury. We know the value of this material. If we use it for pedestals, window frames and outside ledges, the stone will acquire a new expression in harmony with other materials. But the fronts of the buildings in Constitution Square are monotonous. The square itself gives one the impression of a huge paper model at certain times of the day. . . .

A Lonely Conductor

"When we look at the Parisian *Arc de Triomphe* and listen to the Marseillaise, we feel that these really sing a revolutionary song. But what about Constitution Square? I shall choose the worst example of one of its sculptures: A lonely conductor of the Polish State Railways. He is very realistic. The sculptor put a cap with a stony front on him; nor did he forget a bag; and the conductor even has a flashlight. But he stands there waiting to have his passport photo taken. This is not sculpture. We have not yet learned to use all the possible means of artistic expression already accessible to us. . . . Nature imposes upon us a definite order of things. We cannot create faultless concepts in architecture and city planning in several months, or realize them within a year or two. . . ."

Wierzbicki (Eugeniusz): "I do not agree with the concept of grounds covered with stone. Actually, the whole central part of the square is unused. It would have been much wiser to cover it with grass. A huge empty space in stone is not a good idea. . . ."

Skibniewski: "In a many-storied department building, one should not as a rule apply the concept of an 'honorary floor' and an attic, as in a baroque or classic palace. . . . The problem of sculpture and ornaments, too, raises many objections. . . . We must not repeat in the future that which has already been applied. The sculptor's guilt lies in his exhibition-like approach to the problem. . . ."

Goldzamt: "The merit of projects like Marszałkowska lies in the fact that this great undertaking caused a radical change in our urban concepts, and showed us that from now on the basic unit in our city center construction will be the apartment houses, holiday-like in their architectural expression as palaces of the working people. From now on, the residential districts do not have to be pushed away from the city center toward the suburbs, but are worthy of a central place in the composition of the city. . . ."

"There should be no columns in a five-story building. I adhere to the Renaissance concept . . . which is nearer to the many epochs of our national tradition. . . . The classic traditions of the 18th century cannot be rejected, but the Renaissance tradition is easier to apply at the present time. . . ."

Szapocznikow (sculptress): "Perhaps it is advisable to build a huge delicatessen, but the sculpture on it does

not have to be so big that, passing by it, one sees only a huge boot. . . . If architects had cooperated with sculptors right from the beginning, they would soon have determined the right dimensions for sculptures. . . ."

Brzuchowski: "It seems to me that we should keep in mind Professor Zoltowski's method: he warns us against too many ornaments which spoil the composition. . . ."

Sigalin (leading Polish architect): "It seems to me that our requirements regarding architecture are still too low. We are unable to define clearly and concretely and that is the reason why our criticism today is insufficiently sharp and firm. . . ."

Theory and Practice

A second architectural conference was held in Warsaw on April 12 of this year. 400 delegates from all over Poland attended, as well as a group of Soviet architects and important Polish officials, among them Cyrankiewicz, Ochab and Jedrychowski. Warsaw's chief architect, Sigalin, spoke on the results achieved since the first conference in 1949, and outlined the future building program. Sigalin pointed out that of the 120,000 apartment rooms which were to be completed under the plan, only 50,000 had so far been constructed, and that too much purely administrative building had been done. An important speech at the conference, by a representative of the Central Committee's Cultural Department, was published in *Przegląd Kulturalny* (Warsaw), April 23:

"We have already acquainted ourselves with the science of Marxism-Leninism . . . but we still do not fully appreciate the significance of this theory. Many of us still see no connection between the theory and its practical application in planning. The statements of some of our colleagues are significant in this connection, although they have our full recognition for their creative and concrete achievements. For instance, one architect has said, 'It is a well known fact that our best theoreticians do not come out with the best plans; it is obvious then that this whole philosophy [Marxism-Leninism] does not help them too much. Is it really worth the trouble to bother our heads about it when there are so many practical problems before us to be attended to in so short a time? When some of us do not manage too well in projecting, they try to correct it with discussions on theory.'"

"Another colleague of mine said: 'When I listen to all these theoretical statements, I begin to think that they are sensible. When it comes to drawing, however, I hardly see the connection between the practical and the theoretical.'"

"In such statements one may find, of course, many discrepancies and quite logical errors. But first of all, these architects are incorrectly applying old measures to new problems. These colleagues forget that prior to the liberation, the bourgeoisie tried to keep architects in ignorance regarding the true essence of the social system."

"A conclusion may thus be drawn from all this: we must tell ourselves firmly that we have to learn, that the time of the carefree, I-do-not-bother-about-life attitude is over. . . . Every architect should find for himself in life and in the community a definite ideological attitude and become a fighter for the new life. In order to find

the essence and truth of life, the right way to personal development and judgment of things, one must learn Marxism-Leninism. In order to be able to use all means of architectural expressiveness, one must quickly complete the studies of national architecture, studies of world and contemporary Soviet architectural science. One must learn the methods of Socialist realism and apply them universally and consciously to practice..."

Future Tasks

Taking their cue from the above speech, Polish delegates at the Conference "adopted" a resolution which parroted Party policy. Important excerpts are quoted below from *Przegląd Kulturalny*, April 23:

"... The Conference confirmed the existence of numerous omissions and defects in our work. Our ideological training and awareness is still not sufficiently deep and active. ... Our knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, of Socialist urbanization, of the principles of Marxist-Leninist esthetics, is also insufficient. We do not fully appreciate the importance of theory and do not know how to apply it correctly in practice. We often search for national forms, without being aware of the essence of our nation, now becoming a Socialist nation. We sometimes falsely interpret the achievements of Soviet architecture by underestimating its values in the development of mankind's culture. ... Our development is hampered by insufficient and shy criticism. ... There is an unsatisfactory contact between architecture, and science, technique and economy. ...

"Architects have not yet properly joined the fight for technical progress in construction, which expresses itself in a half-hearted effort to search and apply in practice new forms of construction, new materials, half-products. ... The conditions under which we work are equally unsatisfactory. This may be seen in the symptoms of bureaucracy, appearing in numerous 'project organizations,' and in an insufficient connection between the architect and the construction site. ... The Conference therefore confronts all architects, city-planners, builders and scientists with the following main tasks:

- 1) They must improve their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, Socialist urban planning and Marxist-Leninist esthetics;
- 2) They must strive toward a more concrete, critical understanding and application of our own magnificent, national heritage, as well as that of the world, [in order] to become acquainted with the progressive currents in architecture and architectural means of expression;
- 3) They must study more widely and concretely the accomplishments of the leading architecture of the world, our brotherly Soviet architecture, its methods of creative expression, common to all Socialist nations ... ;
- 4) They must become fully acquainted with the most modern achievements of building technique, and intensify their fight for the improvement of technical and utilitarian solutions, as well as for better quality and economy of construction." ...

Progress Report

Today Warsaw is in the middle of its first six-year reconstruction plan. Crowding, congestion and problems of transportation are still major problems for the regime because so few of their plans have actually been executed. Much of the population continues to live in crowded rooms. The number of architects is too few to carry out the government's program rapidly, and they are further hampered by having to follow a prescribed architectural plan rather than creating one of their own. Because of a material shortage, pressing housing needs have been sacrificed to "more important" factories, government buildings, schools and institutes. Except for a few apartment buildings scattered at random through the city, most major housing developments have taken place outside Warsaw. For example, in Nowa Huta, a new town built in connection with the steel works there, 80,000 workers are housed in four-story apartment buildings arranged in uniform squares, hardly distinguishable from adjoining schools built in the same style, and identical as to size and height. Refugees report that considerable building activity is also underway in the neighboring cities of Cracow and Wroclaw.

In an article summarizing construction to date, Warsaw's leading architect, I. Sigalin, wrote in the April 15 issue of *Trybuna Ludu*:

"... According to the Six-Year Plan, 5,600,000 cubic meters of industrial buildings were to be built, of which 4 million have been realized. 50 thousand new residential rooms and 400 schools have been built. Building for medical facilities was also extensive, as were many communal institutions. ... About 1,700,000 cubic meters of administrative building went up in the new city center. ... The building of the Grand Theatre has been started, and works in the large Culture Park in Powisle are in an advanced state. Many social service centers, as well as many shops, were completed. ...

"However, serious deficiencies and shortcomings are apparent ... especially in the field of residential building. The number of apartments, as compared with the number of Warsaw inhabitants, is still quite insufficient, and those houses which were built are badly planned and badly finished. Acute shortages also exist in the field of communications. The urban communications system is insufficient and incorrectly planned, aggravated by a lack of raw materials."

Second Stage

Sigalin then outlined building activity for 1953-1955, pointing out that many of the city districts would be "put in order" and a "final clearance of ruins" accomplished:

"... The building of all industrial plants currently under construction must be completed between 1953 and 1955. The building of kindergartens, schools, scientific institutions, student housing and hospitals must proceed. ... New communal institutions will be built, and according to plan, Stalin Palace will be completed. The King's Castle will be rebuilt, 500,000 cubic meters of new administrative buildings will go up, the Great Theatre and Philharmonic, two new theatres and a few cinemas, and two new houses of culture will be fin-

ished. . . . Several medical centers, nurseries and homes for children are also planned. Almost 20 residential districts will be completed or partially completed, as well as 3 industrial districts. . . ."

III. SOVIET INFLUENCES

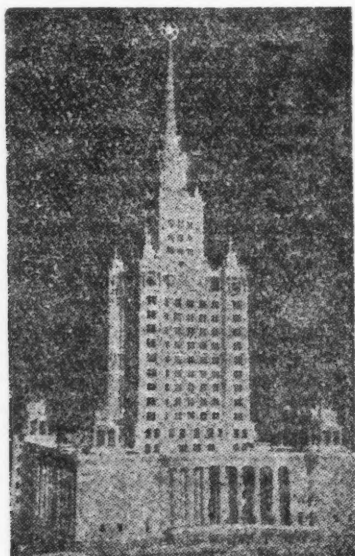
Bulgaria's capital, Sofia, is also under the influence of "Socialist" city planning, and resembles the Warsaw project in many ways. A Council of Ministers' decree, passed on November 20, 1951, called for complete rebuilding of Sofia's center "for the fuller satisfaction of the increasing cultural needs of working people and for transformation of the capital into a model Socialist city. . . ."

According to the decree, clearing the area of rubble and building ruins would begin on February 15 of the following year, to be completed by the first of September when construction would get underway. Of the ten major projects approved for construction under the decree, five are to be completed by December 31, 1954: Ministry for Heavy Industry, Ministry of Electrification, House of the Soviets, a State hotel, and a Central Universal Store. A sixth project, apartments for members of the Council of Ministers, is to be completed one year earlier. The deadline for two projects, the Council of Ministers Building and the State Opera, was not given in the decree, but "would be established at a later date by the Council of Ministers." Deadlines were not set for the two remaining projects, monuments to Stalin, Lenin and Dimitrov, and apartment houses for workers. All ten projects will be incorporated into a new square in the center of Sofia.

The decree stipulated that destruction of existing usable buildings, in order to replace them with the new approved projects, "could only be done with the permission of the Council of Ministers." However, revised construction

plans announced by the Sofia paper *Trud*, March 12, 1952, indicate that nothing will be left standing of the old center but the Ministry of Health Building, a Soviet construction enterprise, and one ancient church, St. George's, which will be completely hidden from view by a proposed Ministry of Heavy Industry Building which is to surround it. The remainder of the center area: Sofia's banks, offices, residences, hotels and churches, will gradually be demolished. Those buildings which are war-damaged will not be repaired in the interim but will be razed at the time of their replacement. As *Trud* explained the revised plan:

"The eastern part of the old square is now in ruins because of the bombing of our capital by the American-English barbarians. Instead of repairing these ruins, the people's regime decided to tear down completely all those buildings and in the same square build up a new beautiful and grandiose square named *Lenin*. The State Planning Commission Building, the Party home (congress hall) and the Ministerial Council Building will be erected here, together with a Stalin monument and Dimitrov mausoleum. To the right of the square the Ministry of Heavy Industry will be housed. Here, one will look in vain for Turgovska Street and St. Nicola Square with its small flower stores. In their place, in back of the Ministry of Heavy Industry, the eyes of the people will be attracted by a park with grass and flowers. The old, shadowy Legue Street will disappear. One will not even be able to see the historic St. George's church. In the background, the House of People's Councils will be located. Its two wings close the square on its west side. . . . Behind the south wing of this building stands the Ministry of Public Health and the buildings of *Sovbolstro* (Soviet Construction Enterprise). The north wing of the House



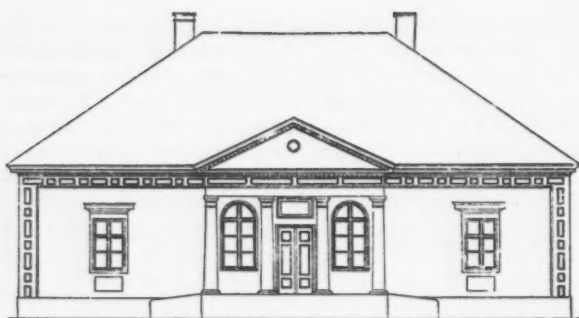
The House of People's Councils in Stalingrad

Vecherni Novini (Sofia) Oct. 13, 1952



The House of People's Councils to be erected in Sofia.

Narodna Mladej (Sofia) Feb. 10, 1952



Drawing of a typical aristocrat's home of 100 years ago.
New Architecture (Budapest) May-June 1952

of Peoples Councils will take the place of the former small, dark buildings now located on two old streets.

"This is the new square, *Lenin*, the symbol of the power of the people's regime, of the beauty of our new life: spaciousness, sun and beauty replacing former narrow, dark buildings and the noise of trolley cars along the streets."

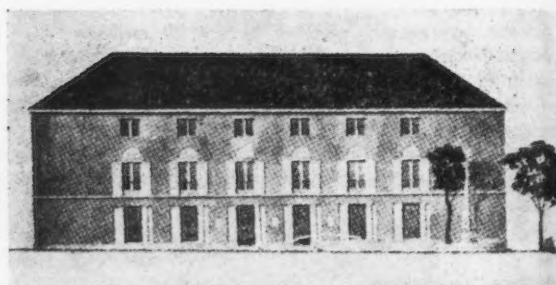
Soviet Ornaments

There are three striking similarities between the Sofia and Warsaw plans: Soviet influence, elaborate architectural style, and emphasis upon building for administrative and Party use by sacrificing worker housing. Nor are housing needs in Sofia any less pressing than in Warsaw. Refugees report that people are still living two to a room in private houses confiscated by the government, and that available new housing is of very poor quality.

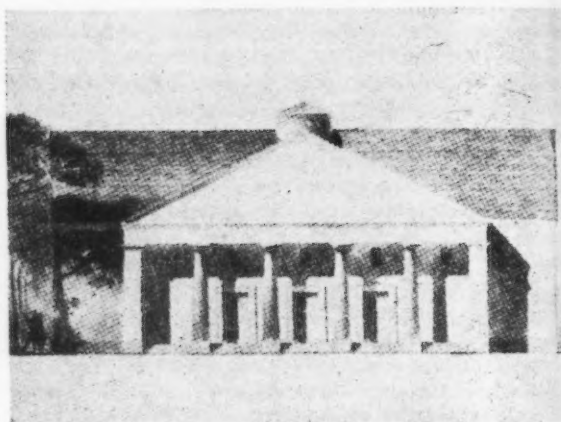
A good example of the prescribed and elaborate design for new buildings, as well as the extent of Soviet influence, is given in illustrations on the preceding page. The photograph shows the Stalingrad House of People's Councils, and the sketch beside it, a careful replica, is of Sofia's proposed House of People's Councils. The building will be 17 stories high, topped with a cupola, coat of arms, spire, and a five-point star. The front columns reveal the Greek influence in typically "new Soviet" architecture.

Hungarian Classicism

Out of the recent architectural controversies in Hungary (brought about by Soviet interference in the field), three distinct styles have developed, all represented in the new buildings going up: Hungarian classical, functional modern, and Soviet. Worker housing is designed after the new Soviet style for apartments, with a row of classic columns and neo-baroque ornaments placed conspicuously on the building's facade. Railroad stations in Debrecen, Nyiregyhaza and Szekesfehervar are virtually replicas of stations in the Soviet Union. Most public buildings combine the 19th century Hungarian classical style with the baroque of the "new" Soviet architecture, but a few are purely Hungarian. In the accompanying pictures, we see first the typical country squire's home of 100 years ago. Beside it is a touched-up Communist version, surprisingly



A contemporary home, located in Varpalota. Shows Soviet influence on Hungarian classicism.
New Architecture (Budapest) May-June 1952



New cinema in Nagykanizsa. Soviet influence apparent in front columns.
New Architecture (Budapest) May-June 1952

similar to the old "aristocratic" style. The third photograph shows another contemporary rendering of the same classic style, with the addition of the favorite Soviet ornament, Greek columns. Again, Hungarian classicism, with its simple, clean, ordered lines, is its base.

Modern Versus Classic

Since the Hungarian classical tradition in architecture is considered compatible with the new Soviet style, the controversy among Hungarian architects has settled upon a choice either between these two styles (or a combination) and modern functionalism, a style popular among many Hungarian architects of the present century. So far, a compromise has been effected in which the Communists tolerate the necessary principles of functionalism in building factories, schools, and the like, but avoid extremes and often add decorative touches to the simple lines of a strictly "utilitarian" building. An example is the entrance to the Volga-Don Canal, or the waiting room on the dock of the Danube, both shown on the following page. The Soviet stamp of ornamentation is on both of them, but its grotesque result is most apparent in the case of the waiting room.



Entrance to the Volga-Don Canal.
New Architecture (Budapest) January 1952



Waiting Room in Sztalinvaros, on the Danube dock.
New Architecture (Budapest) January 1953

Architectural Chaos

Two years ago an architectural debate on functional style was held in Budapest. Unlike the discussion among Warsaw architects, this was a "debate" in name only. Staged from start to finish, and jointly sponsored by the Party's Central Lecturers' Bureau and the Agitation and Propaganda Division of the Central Committee (the Party's two most important propaganda organs), it was little more than a sounding board for the voice of the Party. Minister of People's Culture Jozsef Revai, one of the Party's leading ideologists, was arbitrator and principal speaker. Revai condemned modern functional architecture as an "incorrect" style and made clear that the forms to be adhered to in the future—Soviet and Hungarian classical—were the Party preferences and hence ideologically "correct."

The "debate" was based on two studies by modern architects: Imre Perenyi's *Western Decadent Trends in Hungarian Architecture* and Mate Major's *Chaos in our Present Architecture*. In his study, Perenyi had criticized modern functional architecture, calling it "Western bourgeois, and decadent." Major had defended modern architecture, pointing out that even Soviet architects had not yet developed a consistent style. Texts of speeches at the debate were published in the September 1951 issue of the sociological review *Tarsadalmi Szemle*, as well as in a separate pamphlet. Excerpts below from Revai's speeches at the session are taken from these sources.

Style Is a Political Problem

"This debate on the problems of our architecture [Revai declared] is being held . . . [because of] our dissatisfaction with most of our houses and buildings. The government is dissatisfied, the Party is dissatisfied, and the people, too, are dissatisfied. To put it quite simply, we spend too much on our buildings and, under the pretext of modern functional architecture, we build them in an ugly style. We build boxes and name them, for example, 'National Trade Union of Hungarian

Construction Workers Headquarters.' The problem of expense and beauty arise simultaneously. No one feels that these buildings serve their purpose or fulfill their function; nor does anyone feel that they express the new world which our people are building.

"I believe that at this debate it is unnecessary to explain that architectural style is an ideological problem, and, as such, a political problem of primary significance. . . . I have been informed that reaction at the Technical University is lined up behind Comrade Major. This group which criticizes Soviet architecture and takes a stand for modern architecture, as Comrade Major has done, advances the cause of architectural reaction."

Mr. Revai then began a detailed criticism of modern Western architecture:

"The modern trend in architecture was not born in the age of the steam engine and the industrial revolution, as the followers of this trend, among them Mate Major, say. It grew out of the economic, social and cultural crisis prevalent in capitalism after World War I. The service of man, the presumed basic principle of modern architecture, is *not* satisfied in modern bourgeois architecture. But glass walls and unadorned surfaces, which make no sense even from the point of view of functionalism, are. The essence of this architecture is formalism. The followers of modern architecture are Philistine revolutionaries, incapable of entering into close contact with people's movements."

The Moscow Metro

Later in the "debate," Revai discussed Soviet architecture and the "progressive traditions" of Hungarian architecture as compared to Western architecture. He spoke first of the Moscow metro:

"To outward appearances, Western subways are functional, but they arouse a feeling of emptiness, desolation, hopelessness and drudgery in the worker. And the Moscow metro? With its architectural style and sculptural ornaments, it creates a feeling in the worker that in the Soviet Union every single day is a holiday."

Revai followed these remarks with attacks on Major and his followers:

"According to Major, the Soviet architects themselves do not know what line to follow. What can we learn from them, he asks? He tries to prove that we cannot learn from the architecture of a century in which no one can tell whether what is considered right today will still be right tomorrow. However, this is a falsification of the truth. It gives a distorted picture of Soviet architecture. Even if we assume that Major is right in saying that there is no uniform architectural theory in the Soviet Union, we must admit that they have architectural experience! Why didn't Comrade Major analyze Soviet architectural experience, Soviet architecture in practice? Was there nothing he could learn from the buildings in Taskent, Erivan, Leningrad or Moscow? From the new skyscrapers under construction in Moscow? From the new university being built on Lenin Mountain? To analyze these buildings would have been at least as worthy a task as it was to analyze the trends in Western decadent architecture, to discuss Le Corbusier and the German Bauhaus [functional] style."

In conclusion, Revai gave his blessing to the Party point of view in architecture. "When we think of our Hungarian fatherland," he said, "we also think of the beautiful classic buildings of Budapest, among them the National Museum, or of Eger with its baroque buildings. We must develop a new Hungarian Socialist architectural style. We have a great deal to learn from the new architecture in the Soviet Union."

This "debate" was prominently featured in the daily newspapers and magazines. While it was in session, the Budapest paper *Magyar Nemzet* ran a series of articles

entitled "The Inspiring Spirit of Debates." A typical passage from the articles reads:

"Have you read it? people are asking each other these days? It is almost unnecessary to say what. The imperialist press accuses us of preparing for war. Is there a sober man who could believe that our people are preparing for anything else but a long and happy creative life when for weeks they have been discussing the problems of architecture?"

Martin Kusy, writing in the Czechoslovak magazine *Kulturny Zivot* (Bratislava), June 21, 1952, summed up the political-ideological tasks ahead for captive architects in all the Satellite countries when he wrote:

". . . The tasks entrusted to the architects by our society, which is building Socialism, are indeed vast. Their correct solution requires, aside from technical maturity, an understanding of the tasks of our buildings, which are for the people, to serve the people, and to form better and more beautiful surroundings to help raise the new man. . . . It is equally our task to create buildings which will give the impression that they are the property of all workers. . . ."

The captive architects have not yet been able to produce upon Stalinist demand an ideologically satisfactory architecture. They have not yet been able, or willing, to follow the "glorious Soviet example," nor have they been able to apply the precepts of Marxism-Leninism to design, construction or planning. For all of the demands of the "new society" for buildings worthy of the "new man," the production of a "new architecture" requires more than a mere Party fiat.

Captive Letters to the Editor

ONE OF the most revealing features of any newspaper is its "Letters to the Editor" column and this is especially true behind the Iron Curtain. There, letters to the editor are celebrated by Communist propagandists as "another example of free speech and press," but even the most superficial examination of these columns indicates that many of the letters are officially "sponsored" or planted. It is nonetheless interesting to note that these letters illuminate various aspects of life in the captive countries: in the factories and collective farms, in the schools and in the government, in the Party and the Army.

But the Communists have had very interesting problems with the letters to the editor. In some cases, they have received unsigned letters which raise more serious objections and criticisms than the regime permits. Recently, for example, *Lidova Demokracie* (Prague), February 11, 1953, had to publish a note from the editor to "unknown" correspondents:

"Will all of you writing to the newspaper asking for advice, please sign the letters and give your full address. In the last three days we have had 14 letters in the mail either signed with initials only or with a pen name or not signed at all. Several letters were signed in full, but false addresses were appended. All readers, without exception, have no reason at all not to give their full names and addresses."

A recent refugee report indicates why many people are afraid to put their names and addresses on their letters to the editor. It gives a striking picture of Stalinist methods of "straitjacketing" public opinion by means of the letters to the editor. The following story describes how letters to the editor are procured and may serve as characteristic for all totalitarian countries.

The East German *Freiheit* is not a big newspaper but it brings news to many people who have little other access to the press. Published daily, it has its main editorial offices in Halle from which matrices are sent out to fifteen branch offices in the smaller towns of the area. The only thing added in the local offices is about half a page of local news to supplement the approximately three and a half pages of world and national news carefully prepared in the central office. Our refugee source, whom we shall call Madame

Gilbert, worked as secretary to the chief editor of the Wittenberg paper.

One day in March 1952, when both editors of the paper were in Halle to attend a weekly conference at which directions were given as to how the Party line was to be followed, Madame Gilbert received an urgent call from Halle. The editor was on the wire and told her that the day's matrices were on their way by messenger, and they contained a Soviet answer to a Western note. Madame Gilbert was told to call all prominent Wittenberg personalities, ordering them to pay close attention to the note about to be published and to send in a letter to the editor expressing their "opinion" of the note. She was instructed to call not only local professional people—doctors, lawyers, architects, engineers—but people known for their indifference to Communism. Madame Gilbert points out that the Communists know that the views of such people are taken more seriously by the population than the opinions of those known for their loud-mouthed Communist allegiance.

The paper containing the note duly rolled off the presses that day and by evening, the first letters began to trickle in, condemning the Western powers, their war propaganda, etc. and praising the Russian stand in these matters. The choicest letters were published the following day, complete with signatures and addresses as "the voluntary and indignant expression of an outraged people."

Generally, letters are complaints directed at minor abuses. No criticism of high officials or Party policy is published, but attacks on local administrations or execution of government policies by the lower echelons of the governmental machinery are encouraged to provide a safety valve for popular dissatisfaction with the bungling of regime bureaucrats. Nor is thoroughgoing indictment of Communism and its evils permitted, and the choice of letters printed is such that the voice of the people is regimented into the voice of the Party and thus made another aspect of Stalinist propaganda.

Below are some of the letters which have recently appeared in the Satellite newspapers of East and Central Europe. They give some observations on and insight into the everyday problems of people who live behind the Iron Curtain.

Newsstand Beer and Brandy

"Residents of Ganibu and Petersalas Streets were quite surprised when the newspapers on their newsstands were replaced by beer. It was soon apparent that the newsstand had been leased by the Billeting Office of the Stalin district Riga Store Number Four, which was responsible for replacing the newspapers with beer.

"The local residents protested and placed claims with the Billeting Office demanding the renewed sale of newspapers, but the complaints received no answer. Since then three years have passed. . . . The intersection of Ganibu and Petersalas Streets has since seen increased traffic. Three streetcar lines halt on the corner; busses and an electric bus stop are being installed. The old buildings have been taken down and new stores erected, but for newspapers, residents still have to travel as far as Sarkandaugava or Hansa Street. Beer and brandy are still being sold on the newsstand. According to regulations, the stand is authorized to sell only sealed bottles, but the actual practice is different. Saleswomen willingly open customers' bottles and the customers take seats on the pavement. Songs and fighting take place in front of the newsstand. It is a nuisance to the residents in the surrounding buildings and especially to the pupils of Public School Number Five who often have to get off the pavement to pass the drunks.

"And only a few steps from the newsstand, we can see Riga Store Number Nine where beer is sold until midnight. Thus it is even more justified to ask why the executive committee of the Stalin district pays so little attention to the working people's cultural needs and does not call off the agreement with Riga Store Number Four, and return newspapers to the stand. It is also essential that a telephone booth be installed at this busy intersection.

"Some guilt rests with the policemen. If they would see that no drinking takes place in the street, the beer stand would long ago have been replaced by the newsstand. . . . Hundreds of working peoples are impatiently waiting for this change."

From *Sovetskaya Latvija* (Riga), July 2, 1952

Learning with Obstacles

"At the beginning of the year, my son, a pupil in the third grade of the national school in Rokycany, in the mass distribution of school books, received a Czech grammar published in 1952 by the State Pedagogical Publishing House. Imagine our surprise when we found that the leaves were helter-skelter, some passages appearing twice and some missing altogether. Up to page 42, everything was in order, but pages 43 to 90 were missing, page 106 was followed by pages 91 to 106, which had already appeared. Pages 43 to 58 did not appear anywhere.

"My son is now supposed to learn the missing passages. To do his homework, he has to beg other boys to lend him the book. I would like to know what excuses the publishing house and the Ministry of Education, Science and Arts has for this. Such production is called slovenly in my book, and even at that I am being polite. The teacher told my boy that he should have looked the book over before paying. That may be, but didn't the controller have the same duty?"

From *Svet Prace* (Prague), December 24, 1952

Just Can't Get Along

"Dear *Sturshel*,

"During 1952 a strange thing happened in our enterprise about which I want you, being more clever than I, to give your opinions and conclusions. On January 15, 1952, Comrade Avram Kalinkov was appointed as planner of the enterprise by Order 42.

"On February 17, 1952, the same Comrade Avram Kalinkov was fired by Order 64 for being unable to get along with his job.

"On February 24, Comrade Kyril Saragiolov was appointed to the same job by Order 68.

"On April 29, Comrade Kyril Saragiolov was fired by Order 87 for not being able to get along with his work.

"On May 7, by Order 95, Comrade Marin Parushev was appointed to the same job.

"On June 26, by Order 108, Comrade Marin Parushev was fired from this job because he was unable to get along with it.

"On July 1, by Order 116, the same job was given to Comrade Zamphir Iliev.

"On September 6, Comrade Zamphir Iliev was fired.

"On September 8, Comrade Alexi Ionchev got the job.

"Comrade Alexi Ionchev was fired on October 10 of that year.

"Right after that, the same job was given to Comrade Christo Chunev by Order 261.

"Comrade Christo Chunev was fired by Order 294 on November 28 for the same reasons.

"On December 10, by Order 314, Comrade Dancho Goranov was appointed to the job.

"The above-mentioned Dancho is still holding down the job but rumors are already being circulated that he will soon be fired for the same reasons as the others.

"I beg you, dear *Sturshel*, to explain the reason for this to me, bearing in mind that all seven employees were checked in advance by the cadres section and all of them had the required education and training."

From *Sturshel* (Sofia), March 20, 1953

Let Down

"The other day my old suspenders gave out. I tried to repair them but my wife wanted to give me a present and bought me a new pair. 'Here you are', she said, 'now you will have nothing to worry about.' She shouldn't have said that. If I had my old suspenders, or if I had put the new ones in a drawer and looked at them from time to time, it would be true.

"Lighthearted as I am, I put them on and went to work. Twenty paces from home, I saw that my pants were somehow falling down. One band had come loose. Well, this can happen even with new things, I thought, and made into a doorway, tied a knot and hurried on. I stepped out to make up for the delay and that very moment, the other band let me, or better, my pants, down. Another knot in another doorway. But when I bent down to pick up my briefcases, both bands broke and I arrived at work breathless, late, and holding up my pants with both hands. Luckily, in the office, I found a piece of string and thus finally peace. I would like to meet the responsible worker who checked this fine product."

From *Kvety* (Prague), January 15, 1953

The Sad Tango

"There is a municipal business in Plock which owns a hotel. There is also a municipal business under the name of the Plock Gastronomical Establishment. Both of these businesses are either in a secret agreement or their managers are twin brothers with the same vice: they don't care about their clients one little bit.

"About this hotel. It doesn't look bad from outside. Only when you go in does the illusion disappear completely. It's cold and dirty inside. Straw-filled mattresses remind one of mountain ranges; damp bed linen is covered with horse blankets; and stone-like pillows are clothed with grey linen. In a communal room: the so-called 14 beds. In the antechamber, a table, a dirty bowl, and a water can. That is, of course, the washroom for 14 people.

"Little wonder that one must pay in advance: guests leave the place after an hour. You can see them often, wandering around the streets of Plock at night. A night walk is good for the appetite. Early in the morning, one runs to the Gastronomical Establishment, a cafe located at 6 Tumska Street and bearing the name: *Theatrical*.

"'I would like to have breakfast.'

"'Of course.'

"'Scrambled Eggs?'

"'We have 9 eggs from last month. They are not quite fresh.'

"'Then perhaps a roll and butter?'

"'We have no butter. It will come at noon.'

"'Coffee perhaps?'

"'No milk. We'll get that at noon too.'

"'Is there a manager here?'

"'He's not in yet. He comes in at noon.'

"So much for the *Theatrical*. The fact that at night, couples dressed in their coats (of course it is cold) wander around the dance floor to the tune of sad tangos is less important. What do they go there for if they are cold: it's their own fault."

From *Glos Pracy* (Warsaw), February 25, 1953

Relatives Invade an MTS

"Aleksander Vladimirovic Tipikin, Director of the Vilani MTS [Machine Tractor Station], was most kind to his relatives, especially concerning government property. His wife, Maria Artemjeva Rava, enters his office one day and shouts: 'I refuse to remain home. I want to be your cashier.'

"'Wonderful, my dear,' answers the kind husband, and a few moments later, her application bears the notice: *hired*. A. V. Zaicev enters Tipikin's office as a relative and leaves as an MTS official. The same happens to other relatives.

"'I am quite familiar with my cadres,' Tipikin states delightedly. And soon it seemed to him that the MTS was his own domain. There were five cows on the MTS; the best of them Tipikin considered his own. The second was given to the bookkeeper. The fate of the other was decided by his wife.

"It did not take long for Maria Rava to appropriate MTS funds. The Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Comrade Porosin, ordered that Rava be turned over to the

prosecutor, but Tipikin somehow managed to evade this order and soon his wife was the manager of the MTS warehouse. In a short period she had stolen eleven thousand rubles.

"During this time, one of the remaining cows was slaughtered. And it so happened that Tipikin's wife brought the meat to the city to make sausages, which in turn she sold to the MTS warehouse, pocketing the money.

"Soon, Rava ordered 386 kilograms of grain to be stored on the Director's premises. On the same evening, Tipikin calls the workers delivering the grain to his office and asks: 'Where is the grain?' In vain, the employee tries to explain that the grain has been stored on the Director's private premises. The only answer he gets is that he was personally responsible for the grain.

"The same happens with firewood. The MTS receives 50 cubic meters of it, but never sees any of it because the Director's wife has the order, which she soon sells on the black market and keeps the money.

"One day Madame Rava finds out from her husband that the cashier of the MTS Simanovic is making a trip to the Vilani Bank for money. She accompanies the cashier, persuades her to make several purchases for herself, the Director and his wife, and promises that the Director will see that 'the proper entries are made in the books.' This is done. But the auditor soon finds out and does not approve the entries. Again Tipikin manages to cover up for everything.

"How far is this going to go?"

From *Sovetskaya Latvija* (Riga), February 6, 1953

The Ill-Famed Shelf

"I needed a shelf for my kitchen utensils, and went to one of the furniture stores in Tallinn to buy one. When I asked for it, the salesman said: 'We have no shelves. That's not furniture. You'll have to go to a housefurnishings store.'

"I found a housefurnishings store, entered it and asked for a shelf. The salesman answered: 'You've come to the wrong place. We never have carried shelves. Go to a store that carries kitchen utensils.'

"I found such a store and asked for a shelf there. The salesman laughed and said: 'Is a shelf a kitchen utensil?'

"I had to agree that a shelf was neither a piece of furniture or a kitchen utensil. It is such an article which the stores in Tallinn have never carried or dealt with.

"I got tired and went home without a shelf. My neighbors heard of my worries and advised me to order a shelf. I remembered then that close to the market in the Kalinin district there was a cabinet maker's enterprise. I went there and was very graciously received. They promised to make the shelf for me but I was asked to order it in the office, and to transfer the price of it from my current bank account to the account of the enterprise.

"I explained that I had no current account anywhere and that I wanted to pay cash for the shelf. It then turned out that the enterprise did not accept cash orders or orders from private citizens. These are the same answers I got from the enterprise on Ristiku and Telliskivi Streets."

From *Sovetskaja Estonia* (Tallinn), December 11, 1952

News Briefs

Mood Meter

A Hungarian woman house superintendent, interviewed in London after her escape, told of how she was given a chart on which to keep a day-by-day record of her tenants' moods. Spaces were provided for her to note whether each tenant was "contented, cheerful, smiling, gloomy, worried or depressed." Sadness, she was told, was a "distinct sign of a yearning for a return to the days of fascism."

"I felt stunned," the woman said. "The idea of ringing everybody's doorbell with the question 'Are you cheerful this morning?' on my lips was too fantastic. . . ."

"I never even thought of going through with it," she admitted. "Instead, I regularly made up the entire report, even adding gratuitous comments such as 'Mrs. X looks tired today, but she will improve,' or 'Found Mrs. Y reading *Szabad Nep* and she was very happy about the Five Year Plan.' Since the Communists are well known to have no sense of humor, they took my reports perfectly seriously."

First TV in Prague

The first television program in Czechoslovakia was broadcast on May 1, after much advance publicity. Glumly the Communist newspaper *Rude Pravo* (Prague), May 2, admitted: "Our receivers have not yet reached the level of the Soviet ones, and the pictures were not always clear

and steady." However, according to the newspaper, "they are far superior to the television in capitalist countries. This is chiefly because our television divides the image into 625 lines, a method adopted from Soviet television, which is the best in the world."

The pictures, none of them live telecasts, showed scenes from President Antonin Zapotocky's election, an international soccer match between Czechoslovakia and Italy, and a review of May Day parades from 1913-1953.

Radio Prague cautioned owners of television sets against setting expectations too high: "Future programs will be much less elaborate than this one."

Venus Declined

Zycie Warszawy (Warsaw), February 22, reporting on unveiling ceremonies of the Zeus statue at United Nations headquarters in New York, quoted the following anecdote allegedly circulated by Communist humorists:

"A statue of Zeus, the gift of the Greek government to the UN, was recently unveiled by Trygve Lie in the main hall of the UN building in New York. According to an anecdote told in UN circles—an anecdote which aptly describes the existing atmosphere there—the Greek government had originally wanted to send a statue of the Venus of Milo. But this offer was declined on the grounds that it would be impossible to get the fingerprints of the armless Venus."

Swing Amnesty

According to recent reports the Hungarian Union of Musicians has modified the ban on Western dance music for its member orchestras.

Budapest night clubs may now play Western dance music and certain other pieces of Western music which had previously been dropped from their repertory. Western dance music had been enormously popular in Hungary, and this policy change is apparently a result of public reaction which had resulted in considerable financial losses for Budapest entertainment places.

In addition to restoring Western music, the various clubs and bars have reportedly begun to redecorate and rebuild their premises in a drive to regain their customers.

Worth Consideration

Radio Warsaw, May 8, warned Polish citizens that "it is advisable not to delay" proper completion of forms required for the new identity cards, and that disregard of instructions "will entail considerable difficulties."

"The issue of identity papers in Warsaw will shortly be completed. Persons who have failed to produce the required documents, or produced documents written illegibly or containing mistakes, or who have included non-certified copies of documents, are asked to complete these documents.

"It is advisable not to delay this, nor to collect the identity papers at times other than those specified, because the issue of documents at a later date will entail considerable difficulties."

Free, But Not Easy

A Radio Tallinn broadcast on April 12 indicated how Estonian workers spend what spare time is left them after "Socialist" competitions, extra work obligations in the plants, and political indoctrination courses:

"The volunteer public works program for the spring season has begun in [Estonian] cities. In the evenings, after the end of the working day, the public parks, lawns, streets and squares of Tallinn are filled with volunteer workers. Several hundred people are busy filling in the excavations left by the installation of the gas works last winter. Brigades of men and women are putting down new pavements on Pioneer's Place. Among these workers is a well-known volunteer, Comrade Maeste, who has put in 5,010 hours of voluntary work since the end of the war; in the first years more than 1000 hours per year and in the last year 275 hours. The director of the Department of Communal Enterprises has announced that the general plan calls for 145,750 workdays of volunteer public work this year, which is less than in previous years. Only 35 hours are required from each worker this year, instead of the 50 required last year. But many collectives have pledged greater work obligations than the plan calls for. . . ."

Soviet Film Boom

The largest proportional number of Soviet films ever to be shown in Prague were scheduled for the month of April, according to an advance program published by *Prehled Kulturnich Poradu*, April 1. The figures were 220 Soviet, 147 Czechoslovak, 51 East German, 20 Hungarian, 13 Polish, 12 Chinese, 10 French, five Bulgarian, three Italian and two American pictures.

Subway Stops

The famous subway-makers of Moscow are extending their operations to cities throughout the Satellite area. The Romanian newspaper *Universul* announced on April 20 that Soviet experts had arrived to start preliminary work on a new subway in Bucharest. In Warsaw, subway construction, already under way, is meeting with underground resistance. Radio Warsaw, May 9, declared:

"The unusually difficult geological conditions met with in the construction of the Warsaw subway are delaying the progress of its construction. The building of the shaft, which should have taken four to six months, took 18 months.

"It has been found that no underground railway system in the world has met with such difficult physical conditions as has the Warsaw subway."

Airtight Solution

A bitter joke is being told behind the Iron Curtain regarding bottled medicine produced by State-controlled pharmaceutical firms. "If you follow the directions on the bottle," the saying goes, "you have a good chance of recovering from your illness. These directions read, 'Keep Bottle Tightly Closed.'"

New Baking Powder

As part of the economy pledges made by Bulgarian industries for the May First competitions, the director of a branch of the State bakery stipulated that flour and coal should be shipped in the same containers. "The only inconvenience," said *Sturshel* (Sofia), May 1, "is that the coal may become mixed with flour, and the bread—with coal dust."

Bets Off

In Warsaw, a cultural trustee caught his colleagues gambling and remonstrated with them. "Comrades," he said, "why don't you play a more refined game? Why don't you play chess?"

"We don't know how to play chess," answered the gambling Comrades.

"Well, if you insist on gambling, then play for beans, not for money."

"For beans, Comrade?" said the gamblers, turning pale. "The stakes would be too high!" (One kilogram of beans costs 22 zloty, about \$5).

State Secret

Elections for factory councils recently held throughout Czechoslovakia gave rise to the following joke among anti-Communist workers. According to their version of the elections, the voter was led to the polls and handed an envelope, which had to be deposited in the ballot box. One of the more inquisitive workers opened the envelope and started to examine the ballot slip.

"What are you doing that for?" asked the supervisor.

"Well, I would like to know for whom I am voting," replied the worker.

"Are you out of your mind?" cried the supervisor. "Don't you know that the ballot is *secret*?"

New Hungarian Rent Laws

Housing and rent regulations are complex and controversial everywhere; in the Communist countries where the landlord is generally the agent of the State, tenant and landlord have a quasi-political relationship which determines the legal status. This is illustrated in the new decree on housing in Hungary published in the March 26 issue of the *Official Gazette of the Interior*. These provisions point to an increasingly tighter government control over the private lives of tenants. A few excerpts from the decree follow:

"1. A lease automatically expires with the death of a tenant if a wife or any dependent inhabiting the apartment did not live with the tenant for a period exceeding six months.

"2. A lease may be cancelled on orders of the Executive Committee of the local [government] District Council. The District Council may cancel a lease and take possession of the property under the lease. In this case, the Executive Committee must provide other accommodations of equivalent quality and size.

"3. If a tenant displays an attitude incompatible with the rules of Socialist cooperative living toward the other tenants or the house manager, the lease may be cancelled by the landlord. Any tenant may exercise his right to serve notice on a tenant who displays this attitude. The landlord may also evict a tenant if he has been convicted of 'crimes committed against the People's Republic or People's Economy.'

"6. Sub-leases are permitted under the new decree. Termination notice can be served on the first and fifteenth of each month. Work or other services as substitutes for cash rentals is not permitted.

"7. Tenants leaving their residences for more than one month must apply for a special permit from the Executive Committee of the District Council. These permits are called 'Certificates of Exemption' and are issued for specified purposes—vacations, foreign assignments, medical treatment, military service, etc. The maximum period of exemption to be granted is one year. No time limits are set for military service exemptions.

"8. Breach of this law is classified as a misdemeanor. The District Council is responsible for all questions relating to or connected with leases."

Laggard Literature

That Bulgarian literature has so far failed to meet the standards laid down for it by the Party is shown by the fact

that no State prize for literature was awarded in 1952, despite the official Communist policy of "encouraging the arts." *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), April 27, admitted that "although our literature is making progress, it is not keeping up with the rapidly growing Socialist movement in our country":

"The annual distribution of Dimitrov Prizes is an important event in our country. It shows the solicitude of Party and government for the development of our science, technology, art and culture. Our literature and arts have been given a vital task—to mirror our new way of life, to educate the people in the spirit of Communism, to support the victory of civilization.

"Although it is clear that our literature is making progress, it is not keeping up with the rapidly growing Socialist movement in our country. The requirements which we make of our arts are not being fulfilled, and our writers, artists and composers have still to pay their debt to the people. The fact that not a single work of literature was awarded a Dimitrov Prize in 1952 shows that none of the novels, stories and poems published that year can be considered satisfactory."

Copernicus Year

To mark the 410th anniversary of the death of the Polish scientist Nicolaus Copernicus, "Copernicus Year" will be celebrated this year throughout Poland, according to Radio Warsaw, May 4. Prime Minister Boleslaw Bierut will be the official sponsor.

Mineral Water Bootlegged

Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary), the world-famous Czechoslovak spa whose medicinal waters were exported all over the world before the war, is now a workers' vacationland. *Dikobraz* (Prague), May 3, published a cartoon satirizing the fact that although the town of Cheb is in the Karlsbad region, no Karlsbad spring water was available there for five months, due to a breakdown in the distributing system.



Ačkoli Cheb leží v karlovarském kraji, nebyla tam po 5 měsících v prodeji karlovarská léčivá voda.

"To je československý Al Capone. Zbohatl pašováním karlovarské vody do karlovarského kraje."

"There goes the Czechoslovak Al Capone. He got rich by smuggling Karlsbad waters into the Karlsbad region."

Hungary Loses Match to East, Goalie to West

The Hungarian ice hockey squad came to Berlin to lose both game and goal keeper. While the matches with East Germany were in progress, Hungary's star goalie disappeared and escaped to West Berlin. As a result, a regular forward substituted in the cage and Hungary suffered a crushing defeat, 23 to 0.

Too Little Too Late?

Among the decisions adopted at the Fourth Session of the People's Assembly, held in Tirana during March and April, was one authorizing leave for the Vice-President of the Albanian Supreme Court to go to school. *Bashkimi* (Tirana), April 1, reporting on "Changes in the Supreme Court and Other Tribunals," wrote: "The People's Assembly approved the proposal of Minister of Justice Bilbil Klossi that [Vice-President of the Supreme Court] Vangjel Kocani be relieved of his duties as it was necessary for him to go abroad [to Russia] to begin his education."

Romanian Radio Expands

The official Romanian news agency *Agerpress* reported on May 5 that the central broadcasting station in Bucharest, which was bombed by the Nazis, has been reconstructed and enlarged. The new station is a ten-story building with "bright spacious rooms and modern studios."

Agerpress further disclosed plans for a network of new broadcasting stations which will spread over the entire country. Regional radio committees were set up last year to direct the organization of radio broadcasting through new regional stations. Three new radio stations will be commissioned in 1953 alone.

The news agency added that "in recent years" the number of radio subscribers in Romania has increased more than 300 percent.

Ranking Member

Three Hungarian Ministers were discussing their wives. Erik Molnar boasted, "My wife is so distinguished looking that people address her as 'Honorable Lady Comrade.'" Erno Gero countered with, "People call my wife 'Your Excellency Lady Comrade.'" Matyas Rakosi silenced them both with "That's nothing. When people come face to face with my wife they usually exclaim 'God Almighty!'"

Trade and Aid

Relations between China and the Iron Curtain countries of East Europe are steadily being developed, not only on a high diplomatic and economic level. Typical of the much-propagandized "demonstrations of people's friendship" is a meeting reported in the Czechoslovak newspaper *Prace* (Prague), April 28:

"The ever-growing friendship between the peoples of the Czechoslovak and Chinese Republics was celebrated on April 26, on which occasion the bonds of friendship between the Chinese village of Kiankuochuan near Peiping and the Bohemian village of Vinarice were sealed. Representatives of Party and government, the Chinese

embassy, and other welcome guests were met at the borders of Vinarice with offerings of bread and salt. . . . Tan-Shi-Lin, the Chinese ambassador to Prague, was greeted with thunderous ovations as he rose to speak. He said that the gifts presented by the Vinarice agricultural cooperative—a water pump, ploughs and other agricultural implements, medical supplies—will enable the Kiankuochuan farmers to make great advances in agriculture, health and culture."

In Bulgaria, silk neckties from China were recently put on sale in Sofia, priced out of the average consumer's reach. These ties are part of large-scale textile shipments from China to Bulgaria stemming from the commercial agreement signed by both countries on December 2, 1952, which provided for a 70 percent trade increase over 1952. Correspondents report that the ties are of excellent quality, but at 45 *leva* each [\$6.50] they are simply showpieces. Chinese tie silk, now selling on the Bulgarian market at 200 *leva* [\$30] a meter, is also prohibitive in price. Chinese silk shirting is being sold at 65 *leva* [\$9] a meter.

Breach of Manners

On March 6, the Czechoslovak Ministry of Agriculture instructed all provincial newspapers to publish the news of Stalin's death on the front page, but failed to make clear that the entire page was to be devoted to the official obituary and Stalin's picture. A number of country newspapers misunderstood the order and printed, next to the news of Stalin's death, reports on artificial fertilizers, hog-raising, cattle diseases, etc. Disciplinary measures were taken against all the editors.

Increasing Uniformity

The material for new uniforms issued to soldiers of the Hungarian Army under a decree of February 1953 is exactly the same as that used by the Red Army, according to a European news source. Under the decree all broadcloth uniforms, with the exception of coats, were withdrawn and replaced by uniforms of a strongly woven denim cloth of a color different from the old ones. Heavy underwear has also been issued to the soldiers, and it is rumored that lined and quilted uniforms will be distributed for this coming winter.

"Under Protective Wings"

All small craftsmen in the Sovietized countries, if they are not forced into state factories, must make their wares according to quota and deliver them for distribution by the State. This system is not always to the liking of either the craftsmen or their would-be customers. An audacious scheme to circumvent this system was "exposed" by the Latvian newspaper *Cina* (Riga), April 12:

"The day was unpleasant and rainy, but a bright sunny smile lighted the face of Comrade Ivanov, director of the Kirov District industrial works. He leaned back in his easy chair, caressed the front of his silk shirt, and called for his favorite shoemaker Lazdins-Vecvanags.

"'Let us organize a workshop which will not be audited, where it is safe to. . .,' the director's words

trailed off as his fingers stroked his printed silk necktie.

"That's fine by me," the shoemaker nodded. "It is a pity we do not know of an appropriate place."

"We have it. In the Court House of the People's Republic."

"In the court house! Why not just go directly to the jail? Wants me to work without a permit, without keeping records, but looks for space in the court building. . . ." mumbled the surprised shoemaker.

"The director paced the floor with his new shoes squeaking, patted his surprised partner on the back, and smiled, 'Don't worry. Where can you find a more secure place? You will live like a sparrow under the nest of a stork. Who will dare to touch you with the strong man over your head—the district prosecutor?'"

"And very soon the shoemaker grasped the connection. It was like this: in order to save the time of the employees in the prosecutor's office, Comrade Kudrjavcev, head of the personnel department, requested the industrial works to install a shoemaker's shop in the court house building and give the workers more time for catching swindlers. Director Ivanov responded quickly and dispatched shoemaker Vecvanags to the court house with all his tools. He did beautiful work and was praised by all concerned.

"The director was right. Where could I find a more secure place? Nobody asks for registration of the workshop and no books have to be kept," thought the shoemaker.

"On March 30, three auditors stopped in front of the court house with complaints submitted by working people. They read the directory, 'Republican prosecutor, district prosecutor, Riga prosecutor,' and shook their heads.

"Somebody has pulled a fast one. Who would look for swindlers in the prosecutors' offices? What a joke!"

"The auditors were leaving when a youngster crossed their path. 'Who are you looking for? Is it the prosecutor or the shoemaker?'"

"Is there a shoemaker in the building?'"

"Sure, and what a shoemaker! He made my aunt a pair of lace shoes. Step in, it's the same entrance as the prosecutors' office."

"And over the office of the head of administration and finance, the auditors found the shoemaker.

"We are interested in finding out who authorized the operation of this shop," said the auditors.

"Permission was given like this: the prosecutor asked, I obeyed."

"What about the production plan?'"

"Oh, no worry about that. I am very efficient, do my work every day!"

"And the auditors soon discovered pair after pair of private orders.

"These shoes belong to the prosecutor," announced the master, trying to hide a pair of boots under the table. "Don't touch them!"

"Why didn't you make out receipts?'"

"How could I; I didn't want to embarrass people. How can a shoemaker ask a prosecutor, what is your name, where do you live?'"

"And so it was established that for six months this private shoemaker had been operating under the wing of the prosecutors and had not registered with the finance

department. As long ago as last December, auditors from the industrial works had found ten pairs of private orders in the shop. But at that time Director Ivanov covered their report under his wings, so to speak, and closed the case.

"The honest working people expect a just settlement and punishing of those guilty of these illegal activities."

Wool Gatherers

At the State farm in Bouci in the Sokolov district of Czechoslovakia, 340 lambs and 40 ewes perished in 1952. According to *Dikobraz* (Prague), May 3, "the district veterinary proposed that the sheep be transferred to a better climate immediately, but the Ministry of Agriculture sent commissions instead. Only after lengthy deliberation and the assurance that the sheep would acclimatize themselves were the surviving sheep finally moved to a more suitable climate."



Kreslil J. Zemliša

Na hospodářství ČSSS v Bouci, ředitelství Hřebeň, okres Sokolov, uhynulo v roce 1952 asi 340 jehňát a 40 bahnic. Ožrali veterinář navrhoval, aby byly ovce okamžitě přemístěny. Ministerstvo zemědělství sem však posílalo komise, a po dlouhých úvahách, že se ovce přispůsobí zdejším podmínkám, byly nakonec ovce, jež tyto úvahy přetily, ustájeny v podmínkách příznivějších.

„Komise si už na zdejší podnebí zvykly, ale ovce ještě ne.“

"The commissions are already acclimatized but the sheep aren't." From *Dikobraz* (Prague), May 3.

Five-Year Bond

A new order of workers in Albania has emerged, similar to the elite order of Stakhanovites, shockworkers, innovators, etc. These are called Five-Yearers, constituting those workers who have contracted not to leave a job (usually heavy construction) until it is finished. *Bashkimi* (Tirana), November 18, explained the new term to its readers:

"Listening to the head of the Ferishkopet supply office order 'the best of everything for the Five-Yearers,' many people thought he referred to the name of a special work brigade. But he explained that these are the workers who, in response to our newspaper campaigns, have pledged themselves to stay on a job voluntarily until it is finished.

"In many brigades, in many work centers, this term is becoming familiar. There are now hundreds and hundreds of 'Five-Yearers' all over the country. . . ."

Wholesale Attack

Esti Budapest, April 7, launched an all-out attack on slipshod methods in the Hungarian clothing industry. Although things have improved "so that dresses are no longer hung on the factory floor," a great many faults still exist; for example, 60,000 new coats which have never left the factory are already outmoded. The article declared:

"Some of the clothes are so creased that they look as if they came from the disinfecting plant and not from the coat shop. We find coats whose nap looks badly worn. Some are shapeless from having been hung up too long. A good many are dirty from being stored too long. Many must be altered to the present style. This involves some 60,000 women's, girls' and children's coats.

"Another fault is that our department stores do not pay enough attention to the correct way of storing these coats. They just leave them covered with dust in the original place where they were put when delivered to the store."

Conditions are not much better in the men's clothing factory, the article continued. The manufacture of men's suits is so poor that 70 percent of the suits have been cut in price and sold as irregulars. Dyeing is one of the chief deficiencies:

"The *Kolorit* Textile Processing Works at Szekesfehervar is sending the Men's Clothing Factory badly dyed material. As a result, one leg of a pair of trousers is frequently not the same color as the other. In the coats, the lapel is often a darker shade than the other parts of the coat. The workers in the factory have seen this. That is why we have many times called the attention of the Ministry of Light Industry to the fact that *Kolorit* should not be entrusted with the dyeing work."

Buying stockings is also a problem. Though stockings are offered for sale in a variety of sizes, "in practice there are only two sizes—much too large or much too small."

On April 15, *Esti Budapest* reported that 35,000 baby shirts from the Budapest Quality Linen Factory were so badly cut that after washing they were "too tight even for one-day old babies." These were made on the instructions of the factory's director despite the fact that workers had called attention to the shirts' defect after the first cut was made.

No Favorite in Czechoslovakia

The aristocratic occupation of race horse breeding is justified in Czechoslovakia on the grounds that it is "an important factor in the breeding of horses in general, since careful crossbreeding with thoroughbreds improves the strain of work horses," said *Lidova Demokracie* (Prague), April 17. And so horse racing continues, despite the indifference of the proletariat to the "sport of kings":

"Horse racing in this country has so far failed to win popularity as a spectator sport among the ranks of our workers, but it is very successful in the international field. Our horses won the Grand Prix in Warsaw and Moscow and the Grand Prix of the People's Democratic States."

Spanish and Romanian Communists Meet

On April 14, "International Day of Solidarity with the Spanish Anti-Franco Youth [Communist]" was celebrated in Bucharest. Routine speeches were made by members of the local Communist youth organizations, as well as by Jacques Denis, Secretary-General of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and Roberto Carollo, delegate of the Spanish Anti-Franco Youth. The latter stressed the need of cooperation "of young people all over the world to help Spanish youth destroy the Franco tyranny."

Stripped Streetcars and Swinging Doors

Streetcars are being stripped of their lightning rods, and doors of their handles and locks, in a full-scale drive to bolster the industrial supply of copper in Hungary. The government, in authorizing dismantling of lightning conductors in Budapest streetcars, claimed that since no streetcar has ever been struck by lightning in the many decades during which they have been running, lightning conductors are not necessary. In certain districts of Budapest, agents of the District Council have taken a survey in apartment houses and made up an inventory of all copper door knobs and locks. According to their propaganda, these door knobs and handles are "old fashioned" and will be replaced with more modern ones made of different materials. However, in the outskirts of the city where the change is under way, the handles, knobs and locks have been removed and no replacements for them have yet been provided.

Numbers Game

Telephone service in Poland is highly capricious, and once subscribers are familiar with its foibles, they resent innovations which will sabotage their hard-earned skill. A plan to change many of the telephone numbers in Warsaw produced a violent reaction in one citizen who related his own experiences in a letter to *Express Wieczorny*, March 23:

"A few days ago I read somewhere that all telephone numbers in Warsaw will be changed in the near future.

"I must admit this news upset me. I become attached to certain people and it is hard for me to break away from them. Moreover, I dislike making new acquaintances. This change of telephone numbers seriously threatens me with both these things.

"At present, the situation is something like this: at six o'clock in the morning I am customarily awakened by a loud ringing of the telephone. I jump to the telephone, lift the receiver and know for certain I shall hear a charming soprano voice asking:

"'You asked for Ciechanow? Go ahead.'

"'I didn't ask for Ciechanow,' I reply gently.

"'What do you mean, you didn't ask for Ciechanow? Isn't this the office of the Babice National Council?'

"'No, it's I, as usual. Good morning, Miss Christine, did you sleep well?'

"'Oh, it's you, Mr. Wiech. I'm sorry to have awakened you.'

"'That's all right. I'll take a walk before breakfast,' I answer sleepily.

"'Miss Christine is a charming long distance telephone

operator and we have both suffered for a long time because of the quirks in the telephone apparatus in Praga [a suburb of Warsaw]. Miss Christine was calling the National Council in Babice and succeeded in waking me up because something went wrong with the apparatus.

"Although I promised her I would go for a walk, I go back to bed, because I was up late last night. Fifteen minutes later the telephone rings again. I do not answer it because I know that Miss Christine is again trying to call Babice. The telephone rings incessantly but I refuse to move. Suddenly there is a hammering on the floor above and a voice shouting, 'Take that call, blast you, I can't sleep!'

"It is my neighbor upstairs, who has just returned from a night shift and is trying to get to sleep. I had forgotten that our apartment house is distinguished by so-called perfect acoustics. In a single leap I am at the telephone: 'Boo, Miss Christine, it's me again.'

"'Boo yourself,' says a masculine voice. 'Get me extension 288.'

"'Sorry, I have no extension,' I reply.

"'What! Isn't this A.R.S.E. 3?'

"'Certainly not. 'Don't you recognize me?' I ask.

"'Oh, yes, I do now. Imagine, I dialed very carefully and instead of A.R.S.E. 3 I again get you,' says the man I know to be a Director Slomka.

"'Well, well. Tell me, have they supplied you yet with those galvanized kammererites?' I inquire.

"I became acquainted with Director Slomka just as I did with Miss Christine, and I know all about his trouble with the galvanized kammererites. Once I even telephoned on his behalf to the A.R.S.E. 3 despite the fact that I don't know what these mysterious articles are. And Director Slomka obligingly takes a lively interest in my work. Aside from him I maintain contact with many others with whom I indulge in short telephone conversations. The most frequent calls I receive are from the Fourth Fire Brigade, the Polish Association for Combating Arthritis, the Animal Produce Center and the Warsaw Agency for Boiler Supervision.

"These are my friends, and now I am about to lose them all and will have to become acquainted with new people. That is bad enough. But even more dreadful is the possibility that after the change I may get a number which belonged to the Information Office of the Warsaw Railroad Station."

Romania Exhibits in Albania

"Aspects of New Romania" is the theme and title of an exhibition which opened April 23 at the Exposition Hall "Ali Kelmendi" in the Albanian capital of Tirana. *Scanteia* (Bucharest), April 25, reported that the diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union and the other "People's Democracies" attended the opening ceremonies and that the exhibition has attracted a large audience.

Radio Rating

The most interesting program on the Estonian radio is the "daily diary of Socialist competitions," according to listeners interviewed about the celebration of Radio Day on May 7.

Radio Tallinn commented on Radio Day:

"The Soviet people celebrate this day every year as a day of festivity for science and culture. On May 7, 1895, the great Russian scientist Alexander Popov demonstrated the world's first radio receiver. By this act he secured priority of one of the greatest achievements of the human mind to his home country, to Russia...

"No country in the world has such an extensive interest in amateur radio as does ours. Thousands of Soviet amateurs learn short wave and ultra-high frequency, work on construction projects, and improve the techniques of radio communications. The Radio Club of the DOSAAF [Union for Voluntary Assistance to the Army, Air Force and Navy] of our Republic has become the workshop of young radio specialists. According to their special interests they are divided into the following sections: short wave, ultra-high-frequency, construction, television.

"Our reporter talked with radio listeners . . . and was told that the most interesting [Radio Tallinn] broadcast is the daily diary of Socialist competitions. . . ."

Fiction for Fido

A luxury restaurant for dogs on Park Avenue is the latest discovery of the Prague weekly *Mlada Fronta's* New York correspondent. The Communist newspaper wrote on May 9:

"Recently a luxury restaurant for dogs was opened on New York's Park Avenue. The menu is carefully planned and the choice of food is of such variety that every dog may order a dish to his own taste. Dogs on diets can receive special food. It is understandable that the canine guests are very enthusiastic and that this restaurant has a great number of four-legged customers. If the dogs of rich Americans were able to read, they would even be given newspapers. There they would learn that, according to official U. S. statistics, four million American children go to school without breakfast because their parents are too poor to buy food."

Human or Capitalist?

"Who was the first man?" a Polish teacher asked one of his students.

"Our beloved Stalin, Comrade teacher," said the student.

"No, I didn't mean it like that," the teacher said. "The first man was Adam."

"Oh, well, yes," the surprised student answered, "if you want to count the capitalists. . . ."

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(As of May 1, 1952)



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